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JOURNAL
OF THE
ASIATIC SOCIETY
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BENGAL.

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VOL. XIV.

PART I.—JANUARY TO JUNE, 1845.

Nos. 157 to 162.

NEW SERIES.

“It will flourish, if naturalists, chemists, antiquaries, philologists, and men of science, in different parts of Asia will commit their observations to writing, and send them to the Asiatic Society, in Calcutta; it will languish if such communications shall be long intermitted; and will die away if they shall entirely cease.”—SIR WM. JONES.

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1845.

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A brief editorial notice, which should have preceded the article on “Scinde,” will be found at its conclusion.

EDS.

JOURNAL

OF THE

ASIATIC SOCIETY.

Translation of the Toofut ul Kiram, a History of Sindh. By
Lieut. POSTANS.

Introduction.

The following translation of the most succinct, consistent, and continued history of Sindh, which I have yet met with, has been made under the idea that, intimately connected as we have become with that country, its history cannot be otherwise than highly interesting, and that there are many who may desire information on the subject. The author of the "Toofut ul Kiram," has in his 3rd vol. collected materials from the best authorities; I have only omitted legends and stories, which have been given elsewhere, (Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal,) as also the histories of holy Seers, Sheikhs, and Seyuds, they being alone interesting to the followers of the prophet; for the rest I believe it to be nearly a literal rendering of the text into English, with a few explanatory notes. I regret, that want of time, and emergent public duty, will not allow me to do more at present.

It will be seen that, with the exception of a very short period prior to the Mahomedan conquest by Bin Cassim, in the first century of the Hejira, we have no account of the country under its Hindoo rulers; and I regret to say, that all efforts to procure any information on the subject have hitherto proved unavailing. Had the Mahomedan historians sought for materials, they might doubtless have been found, and thus the hiatus between the expedition of Alexander, and that of the Khalif Walid, might have been filled up, so as to throw some light upon a portion of the coun-

try, rendered memorable by the great conqueror's passage down the Indus. As it is, we have a blank of nearly eleven centuries; and we only know, from the description herewith given of the extent of country tributary to the Sindh Rajahs or *Rahis*, that they were powerful princes, and that the kingdom of Sindh possessed in their time a degree of importance which declined after its subjugation by the Moslems, when it became dismembered, and fell a constant prey to succeeding conquerors.

From the period of the Mahomedans entering Sindh to the accession of the present family of *Talpúr* chiefs, the chronological order of its various rulers may be thus briefly given, and the number of dynasties during a period of about 1200 years, affords a curious instance of eastern revolutions. From Bin Cassim downwards, Sindh has fallen to the arms of the greatest conquerors of the East.

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The downfall of the Kaloras during the time of Sir Afraz Khan (where the manuscript ends,) and the rise of the present *Talpúr* family, have been so fully given elsewhere, that I do not annex the account to this transla-

* To this list we may now add, "Conquered by Sir C. Napier, and annexed to British India, by Lord Ellenborough,—A. D. 1843."—EDS.

tion*. Of the languages of the country the *Sindee* has been described by Mr. Wathen, and an excellent grammar, written by that gentleman, published by Government†. The Persian language is used by the higher classes, and is that in which all the State correspondence and revenue accounts are kept; most of the Hindoos of Upper Sindh speak it fluently, the result of their intercourse with the natives of Affghanistan. A slight knowledge of it will be found of very considerable service to individuals stationed in the country.

As connected with this translation, I would beg to refer all those desirous of obtaining information on the inhabitants, cities (ancient and modern), and divisions of the country of Sindh, to the admirable papers published in the Transactions of the Royal Geographical Society, and written by the late Capt. Jas. McMurdo, "An account of the country of Sindh, with remarks on the state of society, manners, and customs of the people, &c."

J. POSTANS,

Shikarpore, 5th July, 1841.

Assistant Political Agent.

Sindh is one of the sixty-one divisions of the world, situated in the four first climates, belonging chiefly to the second, and is in the same region as the holy cities of Mecca and Medina; the river of Sindh rises in the mountains of Cashmere, another joins it from the mountains of Cabul, in Multan it is met by the river *Sibine*, and there proceeds to the sea. Its water is very clear and cool: in the language of the country it is called *Hichrand*; all the rivers of Sindh flow towards the south, where they empty themselves into the sea, such as the waters of *Pitab*, *Chinab*, *Sehae*, *Suttanpur* and *Bajawareah*. The climate of Sindh is delightful, its morning and evening cool: the country to the north, hotter than that to the south; its inhabitants intelligent, and of large stature.

Let it not be concealed, that whilst the people of Sindh were formerly ignorant of the Persian and Arabic languages, no account as a compilation existed of those countries; but in the year 613 II., *Alli Bin Ahmid*, *Bin Alli Bukur Kufi*, an inhabitant of Ooch, wandered to this valley, and arrived at the cities of Bukur and Alor, where he saw the families of the great men and descen-

* See Dr. and Sir A. Burnes, and Sir H. Pottinger.

† A vocabulary by Capt. Eastwick, and a grammar and vocabulary of the Brahoos and Beloochi languages, by Major Leech, have also been published in our Journal.—
EDS.

dants of the Arabs, and searched for accounts of the conquest of the Moslems in all its particulars; he also became acquainted with *Cazi Ismail, Bin Alli, Bin Mamomed, Bin Moussa, Bin Jahir*, and saw in the possession of that great man a description in Arabic, written by his ancestors, of the conquest of Sindh: this he translated into Persian. After him, *Meer Masoom Bukeri*, and after him *Meer Mahomed*

Jahir Massiani, in the times of Akbar and Jihangir, composed works, and also the "*Urghim Nameh*," "*Jukhar Nameh*," and "*Byler Nameh*" were compiled. Subsequent to these no clear account existed (or no one was acquainted with affairs) up to my own time; by abbreviating and selecting

The work known as the *Chach Nameh*, which brings the history of Sindh down to about 16 A.D., was written by *Meer Migawar*.

from various books, and by recording some new events, I trust it will be found acceptable to all men.

Let it be understood, that according to what has been previously mentioned, the province of Sindh was so called from "*Sindh*" (the brother of Hindh, the son of Hoh) whose descendants from generation to generation governed in that country, and tribes without number came forth and ruled, whose accounts are not recorded. From amongst these the tribe of *Nubuja*, the men of *Jak*, and the tribe of *Momid* ruled in their turn: of these there are no detailed accounts, so that they pass on to the last of the *Rahis*; and after that they relate the histories of other classes.

The dynasty of the *Rahis* had their capital at Alor*, and the boundaries of their dominions and possessions were

to the eastward as far as *Cashmir* and *Kimùj*, westward to *Mikran* and the shore of the sea of *Oman*, i. e. at the port of *Derjul*, to the south to the confines of the empire. port of *Surat*, and to the north to *Candahar*, and *Seistan*, with the hills of *Sulliman*, *Kirwan* and *Kaijkanan*.

1. *Rahi Diwahij*, a distinguished prince; his sway extended over the boundaries described, and was absolute. The princes of Hind were in treaties of friendship with him, and in all his territories the merchant (Caravans) travelled in safety.

* The ruins of Alor are still to be seen about four miles from Roree; opinions differ as to the river having at any period flowed in that direction, as stated in the "*Tooputal Kisum*." I cannot learn that there are any traces of Hindoo architecture to be found at Alor.

2. When he died, his son *Sahiras* was exalted to the crown, and in the steps of his father he for a long period enjoyed ease and prosperity : after his death, his son,

3. Rahi *Sahasi*, succeeded happily to the high seat of empire and the throne of Dominion ; he conducted his affairs prosperously, and successfully followed out the institutions of his predecessors : after him, his son,

4. Rahi *Sahiras* the 2nd, took his place. The king (of) *Nimraz* brought a force against him ; on learning this intelligence, he met him in the country of *Kich* and prepared for battle ; from morning until noon they were occupied in conflict, but by chance *Sahiras* was wounded by an arrow in the neck and died. The king *Nimraz* despoiled his camp and returned. The army of *Sahiraz* agreed together, and placed his son *Sahasi* upon the throne.

5. Rahi *Sahasi* the 2nd, excelled his ancestors in endowments and good qualities ; in a short period he consolidated and settled his dominions as far as their boundaries extended, and remained at his ease in his capital. He ordained for his subjects in lieu of tax, that they should fill up with earth (repair) six forts, viz. *Ooch*, *Matilah*, *Siwari*, *Mud*, *Alor*, and *Seewistan*.

They say he had a porter named *Ram*, and a minister named *Boidhiman* : one day a brahmin named *Chach*, son of *Silabig*, distinguished amongst his class, came to *Ram*, and they became acquainted ; the porter was well pleased with him, and took him to the minister, after some time, and when *Chach* was intimate with the minister, it so happened, that the latter became sick, and the *Rahi*'s order arrived, to call the agents of the provinces together : now since he (the minister) saw that *Chach* was acute and intelligent, he sent him from himself to the *Rahi*, who was in the inner apartment of the palace. His wife *Rani Sohindi* wished to draw the veil, but the *Rahi* said what necessity can there be for a veil before brahmins ; and when the brahmin *Chach* entered, *Sahasi* became delighted with his eloquence, and dictated his replies to him ; so in time, when the ability of the brahmin became apparent to the *Rahi*, he directed that in future the curtain should be dispensed with in his favor, and that the necessary affairs of State should be transacted in the inner department of the palace ; at this juncture the

Introduction of the Brahmin *Chach* to the *Rahi*.

Rani became enamoured of *Chach* to distraction ; but notwithstanding
 The Rani becomes ena- she sent messages, *Chach* would not consent
 moured of *Chach*. to her views, until his affairs prospered, and

he had laid all classes under obligations for his favours and wisdom. By the chance of fortune's favours the *Rahi Sahasi* was attacked with a mortal illness. The *Rani* called *Chach*, and said, "The *Rahi* has no children or descendants, certainly his relations will become heirs to the country, and it will not remain with you and me ; I will therefore devise some scheme, in order that the throne may be secured to you:" to this he agreed. The *Rani*

Succession secured to sent messages in various directions to the in-
Chach by the Rani. tent, that the *Rahi Sahasi* had become convalescent, but had not strength to conduct his own affairs, (to rise up) ; "some time has elapsed, and the affairs of the country were in confusion, now he has directed and given his signet to *Chach*, who is to sit in his place on the throne, and who will demand from you the particulars and accounts of the important business of the State, wherefore by all means let all of you be present : " all the rulers and great men, in obedience to the summons, presented themselves, and made their obeisance and bowed the knee to *Chach*. A short time after the *Rahi* died ; the *Rani*'s first care was to conceal his death, and having separately called those of the relations of *Sahasi* to the palace, who had claims (on the succession,) under the pretence of explaining the late *Rahi*'s will, she imprisoned (chained) them ; then calling their poorer connections, she said—"I have arrested these claimants to the throne on your account, each of you having his enemy here should precede the assembly and kill him, and having taken possession of his property and riches, let him become obedient to *Chach* ; thus will he attain all his wishes." Thinking this the height of good fortune, these people did as they were directed : the period occupied by the rule of the five preceding *Rajahs* is 137 years, and then it descended to the *Brahmins*.

1st.—*Brahmin Chach Bin Silabij*. When *Chach* after the manner
 Accession of the described became sole heir to the throne, as ad-
Brahmin Chach. vised by the *Rani*, he opened the doors of his treasury and bestowed largely upon high and low ; at length the *Rani* having accomplished her ends, called together the nobles, head *brahmins* and great men, &c.

directed them to make her lawful (as a wife) with Chach, and they were married, (connected in that knot) accordingly.

The Rana *Mihrut Chitoori*, who was a relation of *Sahasi*, having heard this, collected and brought a countless army by stratagem, and wrote to Chach saying, "What have brahmins to do with rule or government; give me the authority, and you shall be reinstated in your former appointment."

Chach went himself to the Rani and said, "A powerful enemy has come forth—what do you advise?" the Rani said, "War is understood by men, (but) if you will change places and apparel with me, I will go forth and do battle with the enemy;" *Chach* was afflicted and distressed. The Rani, encouraging him, said, "You have treasure, quickly propitiate the soldiers, so that you be victorious." Chach immediately acted on this advice, and bestowed much wealth (on his army)—he thus was prepared. *Rana Mihrut* arrived in the neighbour-

Rana of Chittore's hood of *Alor*; when the two armies met, *Rana Mihrut* came forward, and said to Chach, "We are alone concerned in this quarrel, why should a multitude be needlessly destroyed; advance and let us make trial of our strength:" to this *Chach* replied, "I am a Brahmin, and cannot fight on horseback; descend, and I will combat with you." *Rana Mihrut* alighted from his horse, and Chach directed his groom to bring his horse slowly after him. *Rana Mihrut* being off his guard from this excuse of *Chach*, left his horse behind: they met—*Chach* sprang swiftly on his horse, and with one blow killed

Chach kills the Rana and returns his adversary. The Rana's forces returned dispirited and discomfited, whilst the victorious *Chach* returned to *Alor*. These affairs occurred about the first year of the

Hijera. In short, after the victory over *Rana Mihrut*, Chach took counsel with the minister Budhiman, and appointed his own brother Naib of *Alor* for the settlement of the dependencies thereof. One

Governors to countries appointed by *Chach*. named *Muttah* was sent to govern Sewistan, and *Akham* Lohana, governor of Brahmanabad, and

Basar Bin Kakah having subdued some of the holders of the forts in Sewistan (or Sibi,) as also some tribes of Sewis (the capital of their country being Kaka Raj,) and *Chach* after having passed 40 years prosperously died, his

Death of *Chach*,
after reigning 40
years.

brother *Chundur Bin Silabij* was vice-regent of the empire. *Muttah*,

Chundur Bin Silabij, the governor of Sewistan, went to the Rahi of Kunnuj, reporting Chach's death, and saying, "His brother is now lieutenant of the empire, if you attempt it the possession of the country will be an easy affair." The Rahi sent his brother named *Basahis* to Muttah; and Chundur immediately on hearing this prepared to oppose his enemy, and pursued Muttah and Basahis through various portions of his dominions up to the vicinity of Alor; they tried various schemes, but at last failed. In short, he (*Chundur*) ruled prosperously, until the 8th year, when he died. After him, his nephew,

2nd.—Dahir Bin Chach, adorned the throne; his brother *Dahir Sin*

Dahir, son of Chach, he sent to Brahminabad as governor. One day he *2nd Brahmin*.

inquired of the astrologers as to his fate; they told him there was no bad omen in it, "but with whomsoever your sister marries he will succeed to Alor, and rule the country." Through fear of losing the country, Dahir contrived and married his own sister. His brother *Dahir Sin* was vexed at this intelligence, and prepared a force,

Dahir Sin, his brother, rebels against him: his death. and in time arrived at *Alor*, but died from small-pox; Dahir caused him to be burnt, and proceeded to Brahmanabad, where he married his wife (brother's) the daughter of Akham Lohana, and remained there one year; and having appointed the son of *Dahir Sin*, named Chach governor of Brahmanabad: he returned to Alor, where he repaired the fort, which had only been half completed by his father, and arranged that four months of the cold weather should be passed in Brahmanabad, and four months of spring at Alor. In this way he occupied himself for eight years, and by degrees the affairs of the State were settled satisfactorily.

In short, having fixed the boundaries of his dominions to the east, he planted two cypress trees as a mark on the confines of Cashmere, and returned.

Accounts of the joining (assembling) of the Allafi Arabs.

The learned in such matters relate, that during the time of the Khalifat of *Abodal Malk Bin Mirwa*, when *Hijaj* was governor of the Iraks, and his designs were directed towards Sindh and Hind, he sent a Seyud to Mikran, who killed *Siffooi Bin Lam Himami*; *Abdulah Bin Abdul Rihem*, and *Mah Bin Mokawyah* called together the

Arabs of Beni Asamah, and represented, that "the Siffooi, who was one of our tribe and people, has been killed unjustly; we must assemble and revenge him."

In short, they acted on this suggestion, and killed the Seyud and took possession of *Mikram*; after some time they fled through fear to *Kharassan*: *Mujahameh Bin Seyud* came to *Kirman* to conquer *Kharassan*, and sent forward *Abdyl Ruhman, Bin Ashahas*. The *Allafis* laid wait for him, and killed him; they fled to Sindh and came

to *Dahir* who, thinking them well adapted for the police and protection of his country, took them into his own service. The above mentioned *Allafis*

were in Sindh until the coming of Bin Cassim, and the conquest of that country, when having procured a promise of pardon, they joined Bin Cassim. At length the princes of Hind having learnt the absolute dominion of Dahir, agreed together that previous to his attempting

The princes of Hind
jealous of Dahir's
power.

their conquest, they should take an army and conquer his country, and according to the agreement of the Rahis, *Rahi Ra Mal*, governor of

Kunnuj collected a large force, and advanced upon Dahir and surrounded Alor; Dahir was afflicted by his enemy, and asked advice of the minister *Budhiman*, who said, "The Arabs are expert in battle, entrust the affair to them." Dahir came to Mahamed Allafi, and sought

The Allafi chief
defeats the governor
of Kunnuj by a stratagem.

his friendship (assistance); the latter said, "Be satisfied, bring not your forces, and direct that a deep ditch be dug to the length of a fursakh; cover it over with grass, and leave it; after that, do as I direct."

When Dahir had thus done, *Mahamed Allafi*, with 500 Arabs and Sindees, picked men, made a night attack on the troops of *Ran Mal*: these being taken by surprise and awaking confused, fell on each other and destroyed themselves, and the illustrious Mahamed Allafi gave the signal for flight; the enemy, when they learnt that so small a force had attacked them, pursued and fell into the ditch; now Dahir himself with his force came out and took 80,000 men prisoners, and 50 war elephants: according to the directions of *Budhiman* the minister, he set them all free. *Budhiman's* wisdom was proved, and Dahir lavished his favors on him, and according to his entreaty, directed his name to be struck on one side of the copper coins.

From this victory Dahir's position became strengthened, but the surrounding provinces and states were dissatisfied, and nourished more rebellion and sedition. He conducted the affairs of his country prosperously for 25 years, when his punishment was the loss of his kingdom, as will be related with other circumstances.

Account of the capture of the Slave Girls of Sirundip.

They relate, that the country of Sirundip* is of the ruby islands; from this had been sent some Abyssinian slaves with many valuable jewels and curiosities for the Khalif and Hijjaj, in the care of confidential servants in eight boats; by chance these were driven by a storm to the port of *Diwal†*, in the sea of *Oman*; robbers belonging to that place, of the tribe of *Nikamrah*, seized these people, and the representations of the agents of the king of Sirundip, that they were presents to the

Reason of the first invasion of Sindh. Mohamedan Khalif, had no effect. They said, "If your story is true, pay a ransom and procure release." In that assemblage were certain women in the purity of Islamism, who had intended making the Haj, and seeing the capital of the Kalifs; and Hijjaj, one of these, cried out thrice, "Oh Hijjaj! hear our complaints."

This intelligence was conveyed to Hijjaj; when he heard that the women had complained thrice in his name, he replied, three times, "I attend," and prepared to remedy the affair.

Account of the death of Bazil.

When Hijjaj Bin Yusaf prepared to release the Moslem captives, he represented to the Khalif, and sent a messenger with threats to Dahir; the Khalif was unconcerned in the matter, and Dahir said, "I am ignorant of the affair, these robbers do not acknowledge my authority, they may have done so or not; but you must judge." On the receipt of this answer, *Hijjaj* again represented to the Khalif, and obtained the required permission.

* Ceylon, thus proving a traffic between that place and Damascus.

† Is called from the Diwala, a temple for which it was famed. See Capt. McMurdo, Transactions of Rl. Geog. Society.

He appointed Abdul *Allah Sullimah* to Mikran, and ordered Basil that when he arrived at Mikran, he should collect 3,000 men and advance on Sindh. Basil arrived at the Fort of *Neirun*, and threatened *Diwal*; Dahir having learnt this, sent his son *Jaisisih* with a large force to *Diwal*; from noon to night they contended. Basil, after the utmost resistance, was killed, and many Moslems were captured. They say

Battle at Diwal, and death of Basil. the governor of the Fort of *Neirun**, who was named *Samani*, became terrified, and said to himself, "I guard the pass of the Arab forces into this country, they (the Sindees) have thus opened the road of revenge to the Arabs, it may not be that I should be crushed between the parties (hereafter):" accordingly he sent a confidential agent to *Hijaj* and proffered his obedience, and obtained pardon. *Amur Bin Abdullah* said to *Hijaj*, "Commit this momentous business to me, and I will proceed to Sindh and Hind;" but he was refused. *Hijaj* said, "I have consulted the astrologers, and they report that Sindh and Hind will fall to the hand of *Mahomed Bin Cassim*. In

Bin Cassim pre-ferred to the command of the Sindh Army. short, the period has now arrived for the setting of the star of the unbelievers, and the ascendancy of the religion of the prophet in those countries; this affair is more important than former undertakings, and must be intrusted to Bin Cassim." It shall soon be related from first to last.

Here I proceed to relate the extraordinary birth connected with the name of *Jaisisih*. They say the Rabi Dahir was one day hunting, suddenly a tiger sprung from the jungle, Dahir stopped those who were running away, and himself prepared to attack the beast. His wife at this time had been pregnant ten months with *Jaisisih*, and being very fond of Dahir, and learning this she cried out and swooned; at length Dahir killed the tiger and returned unhurt, but he found his wife dead: seeing the child moving in her womb, he ordered her to be opened, and they brought out the child; and this name, which signifies "the hunter of tigers," was given to him, and indeed when he became of years he was renowned for his courage and intrepidity.

* *Neiremnote*, site of the present capital Hyderabad; this latter was founded by Gholam Shah Kallnah.

Accounts of the arrangement and arrival of the Moslem army for the conquest of Sindh.

In true histories it is related, that during the *Khalifat* of the chief of the true believers, *Umur Bin Khotah*, (God's approval be on him,) when *O'sman Bin Hás* was appointed governor of *Barin*, who having arrived at Oman, sent

some vessels properly equipped under *Mughirah Bin Abul Has* to Diwal ; at that time the brother of Chach, named *Samami Bin Salabij*, was governor of the place ; he opposed the Mahomedans, and after a great deal of slaughter *Múghirah Bin Abúl Has* was killed, with many others, also many prisoners were taken. *Abu Mússa Ashghuri*, who ruled in

Mikran, reported this circumstance to the Khalif, and wished to apply some remedy, but was prohibited from collecting troops ; again at the time of the *Khalif* of the chief of the believers, *Ashman Bin Hassan* (may God's approval be towards him) *Abdullah Bin Amir*, *Bin Rubiah* became governor of *Mikran*, it was ordered that a confidential agent should be sent to Sindh, to spy into and discover the state of affairs. He sent *Hakim Bin Hullyah* with directions to make himself well informed of every thing and report thereon ; the *Hakim* said, that the water was black, the fruits were sour and poisonous, the ground stony, and the earth saline. The *Khalif* asked, what he thought of the inhabitants ; he replied, " They were faithless." Thus the preparation of a force from that quarter (*Mikram*) was abandoned. Then in the *Khalifat* of the chief of the true believers, *Alli*, a force passed from *Mikram*, and victorious and successful arrived at the hill of *Kag-Kaman*, which is one of the boundaries of Sindh, 20,000 hill men opposed theirs ; the Moslem army calling on the Most High, began the attack, the noise of the shouts terrified the enemy, who cried for quarter, whilst others fled. From that time on occasions of conflict, the Moslem noise of calling on the Most High is heard in those hills. The news of the death of the *Khalif* arrived, and any further advance was stopped. The force above mentioned returned to *Mikram*. When *Mohawiyah* obtained sovereignty, he

Mohawiyah prepares a force for Sindh. appointed *Abdullah Bin Sawad* with 4,000 men for Sindh ; by chance they arrived at the hill of *Kag-Kaman*, and were defeated by a large force of the unbelievers,

and at length returned and arrived at *Mikram* ; at that juncture, *Zyad* was governor of the *Iraks* on the part of *Mohawiyah*, who wrote to him to send *Rashid Bin Oomur* to *Sindh*, and he took possession of the hill of *Pageh*, taking also the whole of the property found there.

Thus he also possessed himself of *Kag-Kaman* : he arrived at the hills of *Mamzur* and *Bihung* ; the hill men, to the number of 50,000, assembled, and took possession of the passes ; from morning to evening they fought desperately, *Rashid* was killed, and the Moslems defeated. The repairing of this affair was deputed to *Rashid Bin Salim*, he defeated the men of *Kag-Kaman*, and arrived in the territories of *Budyha*, where he was killed. Then *Munzir Bin Harut, Bin Bashar*, became governor of these provinces. He fell sick at *Purabi*, and died : at this time also *Mohawiyah* died, and *Mirwan* succeeded him ; in his time no one was deputed to his enterprise until the time of *Abdul Malk* ; he gave the governorship of the *Iraks* to *Hijaj*, who sent the *Seyud* to *Mikram* ; he, it so happened, was killed by the *Alleifs* as has been before related, whereupon *Hijaj* sent *Mujjah* to *Kirman*, to take revenge upon the *Allafis* of *Sindh* ; he died there in the distractions of these times. *Abdul Malk* the *Khalif* died, and *Walid* succeeded him, sending *Mahomed Bin Haris* to *Mikram* to settle the affairs of *Hind* and the *Allafis* ; he killed one of the *Allafis*, and in the space of five months settled the country of *Mikram* satisfactorily, and took possession of various districts. After that the circumstances of the death of *Bazil* occurred as related, which increased the desire of revenge in *Hijaj*, and it was settled to send *Bin Cassim Sukifi*, as will be related.

Relation of the arrival of Bin Cassim in Sindh, and account of the victories which he there achieved.

After the circumstance of the death of *Bazil Hijaj Bin Yasaf*, it was represented to the *Khalif* that in *Sindh* insolence had obtained such ascendancy, and punishment was so loudly called for, that he must issue his order for remedying these things, as also for the release of the Moslem prisoners, and taking revenge for the rebellion of those unbelievers, so that the country might be conquered. The *Khalif* replied, "The country is distant and unproductive, the expence of collecting forces will be ruinous, and only accomplished by oppression ; it is better

to abandon the project, and pass it by." *Hijaj* continually represented, that by the permission of the Most High, and the protection of the religion of the prophet, the infidels would soon be subdued, and the prisoners of the faithful who, for so long a period had been confined there, would be released, whilst the outlay for collecting an army should be paid over and doubled by those who were its causes. The Khalif being without option issued the order, and in the 92nd year of

The Khalif issues the order for the subjugation of Sindh in the 92nd year H.

the Hijera, *Mahamed Bin Cassim, Bin Akib Sukfi*, cousin and son-in-law of *Hijaj Yasaf*, and 17 years old, made exertions, and they collected and sent with him 6,000 men from Sham and Irak.

They arrived at Shiraz, where they made the necessary preparations. *Hijaj* then sent five battering rams with the equipment for breaching forts, in boats, in the care of *Mugheriah* and *Khizam*, with a select party. Thus they arrived at the port of Diwal, where they afterwards joined him (Bin Cassim). In short, Bin Cassim with all his previous and present forces, mustered 6,000 horse and 6,000 camels (of the class known as "*Bukhti*") to carry his baggage, and set out for *Mikran*, and *Mahamed Harun*, notwithstanding the infirmity of his health, accompanied him; when they arrived at *Mapilah*, *Harun* by the decree of the Almighty died, and was buried there. They relate, that at that time *Jaisisih* the son of *Dahir*, was in the fort of *Neirun*, and wrote to his father the intelligence of the arrival of *Bin Cassim*: he consulted the *Allafis*; they said, "The cousin of *Hijaj* is coming with a large army, do not oppose him." *Bin Cassim* subdued *Arman Bilah*, and proceeded towards Diwal; in the mean time *Mugheriah* and *Khizan* with their party had arrived at Diwal, where they joined him. *Bin Cassim*

Bin Cassim invests Diwal.

threw a ditch round Diwal and encamped; he wrote intelligence of his arrival to *Hijaj*. They say, that

the news reached *Hijaj* in seven days, for such was the swiftness of the messengers, that the intelligence of seven days' date, from and to, was daily received by each party. It is said, that in the fort of *Diwal* was a temple (place of idols) 40 guz in height, and in it a dome 40 guz high,

The temple at Diwal is considered as a talisman for the protection of the country.

and on the top of the dome a silken flag with four ends. The infidels in fear and dismay made no preparation to fight: after some days a brahmin came out from the fort and asked for safety; he presented

himself to *Bin Cassim*, and said, "I learn from my books that this country will be conquered by the Moslems, and the time has arrived, and you are the man. I am come to shew you the way: those before our times have constructed this temple as a talisman; until it is broken your road will not be opened; order some stratagem, so that the banner on the dome may be thrown down." *Mahamed Bin Cassim* bethought him how he should accomplish this; the engineer with the Catapulta said, "If you give me 10,000 dirhems I will agree by some means or another to bring down the banner and dome in three blows, if not I will have my hand cut off." *Mahamed Bin Cassim* having obtained

Dome of the temple thrown down. permission from *Hijaj*, ordered the Catapulta to be used, and by the help and power of the Almighty,

in three blows the work was accomplished, when the army of Islam getting into ranks and order attacked the fort, and the infidels being confounded were powerless and begged for quarter. *Mahamed Cassim* directed, that none should be given, but to deliver up the place. The

Capture of Diwal and massacre of the infidels. governor threw himself from the breastwork, and fled, and the people of the fort being helpless

opened the gates: for three days there was a massacre; they then brought out the Moslem prisoners, and captured immense treasures and property; they destroyed the temple of idols, which was called Diwal after the place, and built a musjid. A man named *Kihilah*, one of the infidels, was the keeper of the Moslem prisoners; when these were brought out it was discovered that he had exerted himself greatly in their behalf, and was overjoyed at their release as well as the victory of the army of Islam: *Mahamed Cassim* called him and pressed him to embrace the true faith, and he became a Moslem. After many honours and favours, he shared with *Ahmed Bin Darah Nijdi* the governorship of that place. At length, having satisfactorily arranged the affairs of that quarter, and placed his battering rams in boats, he started them by the river Sakurah to Neirun, and he himself proceeded

Bin Cassim proceeds to Neirun. by land in the same direction. They say that the son of *Dahir*, *Jaisisih*, was formerly at Neirun, but

after hearing of the victory at Diwal, *Dahir* called him to *Brahamanabad*, and *Samani* the former governor of Neirun, who had procured a certificate of pardon from *Hijaj*, as before mentioned in the account of the death of *Bazil*, was with *Dahir*. Now when *Mahamed Cassim*

after seven days arrived in the vicinity of Neirun, the defenders of the fort fastened the gates. The army of the Moslems were much distressed in the neighbourhood of Neirun for water, by reason of there being no inundations; Mahamed Bin Cassim made applications to the Most High, and they were immediately succeeded by a supply of rain, and the springs and tanks of that part of the country overflowed like fountains; still there was a deficiency of forage: by good fortune, *Samani* arrived at Neirun, and sent his confidential agents with the cer-

ificate of pardon to Bin Cassim, and said, "I am
The governor yields up the fort of Neirun. the slave to be obedient, the reason of this omis-

sion is, that during my absence the people in the fort have closed the gates; I wish if you will pardon the fault and warrant my safety to come and kiss your feet." *Bin Cassim* having paid due attention to those who had been sent, ordered "That it was necessary to punish those who had guarded the gates, but since you have interceded, come have an interview, and open the gates." *Samani* having done so, took the keys with suitable presents, and made his obeisance; he was favored, and provided every thing that was required. At length the army of Islam entered the fort; they destroyed the temples, and huilt musjids and minarets in their stead,

Governor appointed. Mouzzins and Imams were appointed, and Shunheh was made governor of the place. Taking *Samani* with him, Bin Cassim advanced; when they had proceeded some distance from *Neirun* at the place called *Mauj*, *Samani* sent a letter to *Bicharah*, son of *Chundur*, governor of *Sewistan*, thus: "We are not the men to hear force; this Arab army is all powerful; there is no use in opposing them;

Governor of Sewistan refuses to submit. it is necessary to look after the interests of yourself and people, come and proffer your obedience, the word of *Bin Cassim* is powerful, undoubtedly this is the best policy." *Bicharah* refused to accede to submission, but prepared for battle. Thence the Moslem troops having advanced, reached the fort of *Sewistan*; one week was occupied in laying siege and attack; until at length *Bicharah* becoming dispirited, fled and went to *Búdyah*; *Bin Kakah*, *Bin Kotah*, who was governor of the castle of *Sim* *Mahamed Cassim* entered the fort of *Sewistan**, and took posses-

* *Sewistan* always means the modern *Sehwan*.

sion ; he favoured such persons as were brought to him by *Samani*, and

Bin Cassim enters then started for *Sim*. The forces of *Budyah* and *Sewistan*.

Bicharah prepared for opposition. The infidels went to *Kakah*, *Budyah's* father, and requested permission to make a night attack. *Kakah* said, "I know from the astrologers that the army of Islam will conquer this country, and that the time has now arrived ; do not entertain such ideas." They would not be restrained, but prepared for a night attack ; it so happened that they lost the road and dispersed into four parties, and although they wandered all night, they found themselves in the morning near the gate of the fort of *Sim*. Being afflicted they became penitent, and went to *Kakah Chanah* and stated their case. He said, "Do not think me less valiant than yourselves, but I know for certain that there is no use in contending with these men." In short, *Kakah* went himself and proffered his obedience ; he was received with favour, and obtained safety for his followers. *Mahamed Bin Cassim* sent with him *Abad al Mulk Bin Kies Aldaki*, and ordered them to bring all who would be obedient (to his sway,) and to punish all who resisted. The Almighty gave them daily victories over

Gain fresh victories, the infidels, and at last these being frustrated, fled the infidels proffer to the forts of *Bultur Saluj* and *Kandail*, when obedience.

they solicited promises of safety and pardon, and, agreeing to pay tribute, departed to their own country : at this time an

Hijaj sends order to *Bin Cassim* to subdue *Dahir*. order arrived from *Hijaj*, that *Mahamed Bin Cassim* should return to *Neirun* to prepare to cope with *Dahir*, and cross the river *Mihran*.

It is related that the tribe of *Chanah*, which at that time was a large clan, collected from various places, and sent a person to bring intelligence (of the Moslems) ; he arrived when the forces of the Arabs were arranged behind, *Bin Cassim* engaged in prayer, and in their devotions obeying the postures of the *Moollah*, he reported to his tribe, that those who could by thousands be made to obey one man, it would be futile to oppose. Thus they determined to declare allegiance to the Moslems, and after sending suitable presents they arrived when *Bin Cassim* was at table, who said "This tribe is fortunate," and they were ever after styled the tribe of '*Chanah Mirzook*,' or 'fortunate ;' they then proffered their obedience and assistance of tribute, which was accepted, and they departed,

The tribe of *Chanah* become obedient.

and it was decreed that the land on that side of the river in the possession of the tribe of Chanah, should be taxed at a tenth, the same as that at *Neirunkót*, where the people had voluntarily tendered their obedience. In short, pursuant to the orders of *Hijjaj, Bin Cassim* returned, and having crossed the *Mihran*, arrived at the fort of *Rawur*

Governor of Rawur and Jeyur joins Bin Cassim. *Múkih Bin Bisayah* to come and proffer his obedience. He replied, "If I do so I incur the displeasure of *Dahir*; in a certain place at uncertain time, I will come forward with a certain number of troops; direct your men to attack me, and I will appear to oppose them, and then allow myself to be taken prisoner." Thus did *Mukih* at that place become obedient, and was taken into great favor: he shewed the road (to conquest.)

They relate that the *Rahi Dahir*, hearing of the power of the army of Islam, prepared with a large force to oppose the passage of the river. A party of the Moslems were crossing, *Dahir* himself killed one with an arrow. He left *Jahamin Budah* there, and himself retired; *Jahamin* took such strong possession of the passage of the river, that it became difficult. At this junction *Chundram Halah*, who was formerly governor, seized

Dahir opposes the passage of the Moslems on the Indus.

Sewistan from a party of horsemen of the Moslems who were left at that place. *Mahamed Cassim* on hearing this, despatched *Ussúb Bin Abdul Rahim* with a thousand horse and 200 foot to *Sewistan*. *Chundram* prepared to oppose them, and was defeated: he wished to escape to the fort, but the fort gates had in the mean time been closed, and he being frustrated, fell into the hands of the Moslems and was killed, (sent to perdition.) The Moslems then surrounded and took the fort, whence they rejoined *Bin*

Rebellion at Sewistan.

Cassim: *Rahi Dahir* sent his son *Jaisisih* to the fort of *Bât*, to stop the road of the army of Islam; about 50 days were thus passed, and the Moslems began to suffer want, such horses as died of starvation were eaten. *Dahir* sent a messenger saying, "The state of your army is thus reported: if you wish well to yourselves I shall not oppose, but will perform my service (become obedient,) and you had better return." *Mahamed Bin Cassim* replied, "By the will of the Almighty, this country shall be a Mahomedan country, and until you come and proffer

Sewistan retaken, and governor killed.

The Moslems suffer for want of provisions.

obedience and pay the tribute of several years, I will never abandon my intentions respecting you." (I will never take my hands from you.) They say that *Hijaj* in hearing the news of the loss of the horses, des-

patched 2,000 others with strict injunctions not to delay in the important affairs of *Dahir*, but to pass to Bin Cassim.

the river quickly and settle them first. On the receipt of these injunctions, *Mahamed Bin Cassim* having arrived at *Juhum*, directed them to collect boats for the passage of the river, and to make a bridge. *Múki Bin Bisayah* collected several boats, and

Bridge of boats. filling them with sand and stones, and fastening them with wedges, made them firm one to the other. On this intelligence *Dahir* wrote to his son to arrest *Múki* by some means for his evincing such audacity. *Rail* the brother of *Múki* was with *Dahir*, and having formerly been an enemy to his brother, said, "Entrust this order to me, and I will go and bring my brother; I will moreover pledge myself to prevent the passage of the river." At this time, by the help of God, the army of Islam having prepared the boats began to cross, and with showers of arrows dispersed the Infidels who dared to oppose them on the opposite shore. A large party arrived on the other side, and having cleared the shore of their

The Moslems cross enemies, took up a position, until the rest of the army should have passed safely. It is said, that

swift horsemen of the unbelievers, by travelling all night, conveyed the news to *Dahir* early the next morning: he was still asleep when they announced it; the groom roused *Dahir*, who, when he awoke from a tranquil sleep, was so much annoyed that he struck the messenger on the face so heavily with his slipper, that he died immediately. In short, *Dahir* being astonished and dismayed, knew not what to do: when *Mahamed Cassim* had crossed the whole of his army, he proclaimed to his troops—"The river is in our rear and the enemy in

front: whoever is ready to yield his life, which act Bin Cassim exhorts his troops.

will be rewarded with eternal felicity in such a cause, let him remain and have the honor of conflict; and any amongst you who, on second consideration, does not feel able to oppose the enemy, let him recollect that the road of flight is not open—he will assuredly fall into the hands of the Infidels, or else be drowned in the river, and thus suffer disgrace, which is the worst of all evils in religious

or worldly matters; but still, let these now take leave, for brave men determine either to conquer or die." Of the whole force only three persons, one under a pretence of an unprotected mother, another of a motherless daughter, and a third of want of means, left; the rest declared they were only anxious for battle.

At length Mahamed Bin Cassim perceiving the unanimity of his troops directed a march from that place, and from the fort of *Bat* arrived at *Rawur*; he arrived at a place called *Jeyur*. Now between *Rawur* and *Jeyur* there was a bay, on passing which they came in

First view of Dahir's forces; Mohazar Bin *Sabit Kisi* hir's forces.

with 2,000 and Mahamed *Ziad Abdi* with 1,000 troops, were directed to oppose them: they drove the enemy back. At this time, Dahir called Mahomed *Haris Allafi* and represented, "For advice in such a day as this have I protected you; now you must exert yourself and take charge of the advanced party." Mahomed *Haris* replied, "Indeed I acknowledge that I ought to exert myself to the utmost, but there is the necessity of opposing Mahomedans, and to become

The Allafi chief refuses to oppose the army of Bin Cassim. renegade, sell my religion for gold, to have on me the blood of Mahomedans, and when I die to go to perdition; spare me, I pray you, the performance of these tasks: any other duty I will perform with my life." Dahir was disconcerted, and remained silent. He sent *Jaisisih* with a large party of troops to oppose the enemy, but after the loss of the greater portion he was defeated and returned. The next day the brother of *Múki* was appointed, but he secretly sent a message saying, "Take me in battle as you have done my brother:" and they did so. Thus for ten days in this way the Infidel forces came out to battle, and, being defeated, returned.

In the meantime the victorious Moslems besieged Dahir in his own stronghold, and on the 11th day, which was Thursday, Bin Cassim besieges Alor. day the 10th of the month *Ramzan* in the 93rd year of the *Hejira*, Dahir notwithstanding the prohibitions of the astrologers came out himself with a powerful force; he had 10,000 horse with armour, and 30,000 foot with many war elephants, (on one of which)

Dahir gives battle. *Dahir* was seated in a howdah with two beautiful girls handing him wine, and fanning him. They contended fiercely from morning until night, and the Moslems so plied their rockets and arrows that it could not be exceeded.

At first the army of Islam became confused ; *Mahamed Bin Cassim* became alarmed, and offered up prayers to the Most High, who favored him, and gave him at length the victory. They relate, that *Bin Dahir* had at all times during the battle an iron mace in his hand, with which he cleft the head of every horseman against whom he launched it ; but at length on the approach of the Arabs, when he wished to leave the battle, the war elephants became frightened at the rockets of the Moslem troops, and fell amongst their own soldiers, who were thus destroyed. A party of the Infidels demanded quarter, and said “ The army of Dahir is now confident and careless ; give us troops and we will take them in the rear, and break their pride and strength.” In this way the ground was cleared and the enemy broken.

A party of the Infidels desert.

By the power of the Almighty an arrow struck *Dahir* in the neck and killed him ; they drew his elephant to the rear, but by chance the elephant stuck in the mud of the river, and they all tried to conceal the King’s position. The army of the Infidels being defeated, the Moslems so guarded all the approaches that a bird could not have flown past. The Brahmins fell into the hands of *Keiss*, and to preserve their own lives reported the death of *Dahir*. At this time

Certain Brahmins reported the death of *Dahir*.

the two daughters of *Dahir* were captured by the Moslem troops. *Mahamed Bin Cassim* fearing lest *Dahir* should escape, caused a proclamation to be issued, that they should close to the rear to prevent the concealment of the enemy. *Keiss* hearing the proclamation called aloud on the Most High after the Mahomedan fashion, and the whole army taking it up, *Bin Cassim* became aware of the death of *Dahir*. He came with some of his warriors to the edge of the mud, and on the testimony of the Brahmins took the polluted body out ; he cut off the head and stuck it on a spear, shewing it to the daughters for their confirmation (of his death). He then directed, that the army should occupy itself all night in prayer and thanksgiving for the Divine favour, and in the morning of Friday he sent *Dahir’s* head with his two daughters to the gate of the Fort. The defenders of the garrison declared it was false. *Sadi* the wife of *Dahir*, having from the top of the palace seen the head of her husband, became insensible, and uttering a loud cry, threw herself off (the palace :) in short, the people in the

The body of *Dahir* discovered.

fort opened the gates, and the Moslem army entered, and having erected

The Moslem army a sort of pulpit in the temple, performed the prayers
enter Alor. of Friday. They then took possession of the riches

and property of every kind, and constituted *Keiss* the keeper of these. In the beginning of the month Shawal after the settlement of all that territory, they sent the head of Dahir with his daughters, the prisoners, and the wealth with 40 horsemen accompanied by *Keiss* to the Khali-

Dahir ruled for 33 fat capital. The period of the rule of Dahir was 33 years, and the Brahmins, 92. years, and the whole time occupied by the dynasty of the Brahmins was 92 years.

It is related, that after the death of Dahir the men of Samah from the neighbourhood of *Thurri** having collected, came with tabours and clarions and proffered their allegiance, and began to dance: *Mahamed Cassim* asked who they were, and what they were doing. They replied, "This is our custom, that when a Monarch is victorious, we thus testify our joy." They returned. And the *Bhattias*, *Lohanas*, *Sahutahs*, *Jundurs*, *Machees*, and *Kurejurs*†, introduced by *Alli Mahamed Bin Abdul Rihman*, came to pay their respects, Tribes who pay homage to Bin Cassim. with head and feet bare. After their pardon had been pronounced, it was decreed that whenever any of the

Mahomedans should come from the Capital of the Khalifs or go in that direction, these tribes should be their guides and be answerable for their safety.

Then *Mahamed Bin Cassim*, with the sanction of *Hijaj*, took to wife the sister of *Dahir*, (whom the latter had married through fear of losing his country,) and proceeded to acquire other territories. At this

Sons of Dahir re- time at the commencement of the year 94, it was bel. announced that the sons of *Dahir* had possessed themselves of the fort of "*Sikundar*," and had assumed independence. *Mahamed Cassim* proceeded in that direction, and endeavoured to reduce the fort; after many engagements he took complete possession, destroyed the temples, and laid the foundation of Musjids, and directed certain punishments to be inflicted on the inha-

* *Thurr* or *Thulli* the little desert separating Sindh from Cutch.

† These last are *Jhutts*, the cultivators of the soil and rearers of cattle in contradistinction to the Beloochees who are foreigners; they are doubtless the aboriginal Hindoos converted to Islamism.

bitants. He also in the same way subdued Barhamanabad; they say that one day *Mahamed Cassim* was sitting, when an assemblage

The Brahmins represent their claims to follow their religious customs: the same granted. of Brahmins, about 1,000 in number with their heads and faces shaven, came into the camp. On enquiring their case, he learnt that they were

mourning for their chiefs as is their custom. Having called them, on the advice of *Sadi* the wife of *Dahir*, he sent them all as formerly to be collectors in the districts. In their helplessness they represented that they were a class of idol worshippers, and belonged to idol temples: "Now we have accepted obedience to you, and acknowledge our amenability to tribute, you must give us leave to erect our places of worship elsewhere, and to pray for the prosperity of the Khalif." *Mahamed Cassim*, after having represented the case to *Hijaj*, who reported it to the Khalif, gave the permission required, that they should act according to the usages of their ancient faith. He then ordered that, to distinguish them from other Hindoos, they should carry in their hands a small vessel of grain as mendicants, and should beg from door to door every morning. This custom still remains, and all the Brahmins carry the khulsal.

It is related, that when *Hijaj* heard of the conquest of the fort of *Sikundar* and Barhamanabad, he wrote to Mahamed Cassim, "Since by the blessing of the Almighty, *Dahir* and his country had been taken, you must also take the Capital city; and not rest satisfied with that, but turn to the east and proceed towards Hind, and by the blessing of the Mahomedan religion it will every where protect the Moslems. On this order, *Mahamed Cassim* set about the settlement of *Alor*.

The sons of Dahir take possession of Alor, and deny the death of Dahir. In the disorder of affairs, news arrived that a son of *Dahir* was strong at *Alor*, having denied the death of *Dahir*, and reporting that he was only lost

from his troops, and had gone towards Hindostan whence he would soon arrive with an army and take revenge. So implicitly did he believe this, that whoever mentioned the killing of his father to him, was destroyed. Thus few alluded to the subject in his presence. He called to him his brothers *Jaisisih* and *Wukiah*, who in the tumult of affairs had been dispersed. Bin Cassim proceeded in that direction, and besieged the fort of *Alor*; he sent *Sadi* the wife of *Dahir* to the gate of the fort, in order that she might explain the

death of *Dahir*. They called her a liar and stoned her, saying "You have become one of the eaters of cows." The siege was prosecuted, and the inhabitants of Alor soon began to suffer for want of food; they meditated surrender, *Fufi* began to think that there was no chance of his succeeding, but a false hope prevented his withdrawing. They say, that there was a sorceress in that place; they requested her to give them intelligence of the death of *Dahir*. This woman, whose name was *Jokiú*, asked for one night's delay, and after that she came into the presence of *Fufi* with two green branches of *Jow* and *Filful* trees and said, "I have searched every span of earth from *Sirundip*, and have brought this reply, that if *Dahir* were alive I should certainly have seen him; do not entertain the idea, and do not heedlessly and unprofitably doom yourself to destruction." When *Fufi* knew for certain from the sorceress, and became convinced of the death of *Dahir*, he left the fort at night and fled to his brothers whom he had called to him, but who had not yet arrived. In the morning the *Allafis* sent the intelligence by letter to *Mahamed Cassim*, and called for a promise

Bin Cassim enters
Alor.

of pardon for themselves; they directed the holders of the fort to open it, and *Mahamed Cassim* with his victorious army entered the city. He saw a large assemblage of the people prostrating themselves in the place of worship; he asked what they were doing, he learnt that they were paying adoration to an idol, and entering the temple he saw a well-formed figure of a man on horseback: he drew his sword to strike him, but those who were near him cried out, "It is an idol and not a living being." Making way for *Mahamed Cassim* he advanced to the Idol, and taking off one of his gauntlets he said to the

Bin Cassim reproach-
es the idolaters.

spectators, "See in the hand of the Idol there is this one gauntlet; ask him what he has done with the other." They replied, "What should an Idol know of these things." *Bin Cassim* said, yours is a curious object of worship, who knows nothing even of himself. They were ashamed at this rebuke. In short, after the capture of *Alor* which was the capital of the country, the rest of the dependencies became tranquil, all the inhabitants were grateful to *Bin Cassim**, and pursued their former avocations. He appointed *Hurún*

* There is an apparent inconsistency in our author here, for he tells us that Alor was taken by *Bin Cassim* when *Dahir* was overthrown, and does not account for the Rajah's sons getting possession of it, and its being necessary to recapture it. *Bin*

Bin Keiss, Bin Rowah Assidi, to the governorship of Alor, and the

rank of Cazi he conferred on *Mussa Bin Yakrib, Bin Tahi, Bin Nishban, Bin Ashman Sakufi*, and he appointed *Widah Bin Ahmid al Nijdi* to the command of Barhamanabad,

and *Nobah bin Daras* to the fort of *Rawur*, and the country of Korah he gave to *Bazil Bin Hillazuwi*. Then he turned towards Multan; and

in the course of the journey, at the fort of *Bahiyah, Kulsur Bin Chundur, Bin Tillabij* a cousin of *Dahir's*, who had been at enmity with *Dahir*, and was remaining at that place, came out and tendered his allegiance. After that, they conquered the fort of Sukkur, and

Atta Bin Jamahi was left there as Governor, and having seized *Multan* with its dependencies and fortified places, *Khazimah Bin Abdul Mulk, Bin Jumim* was left at Mahpur, and *Daud Bin Mussarpur, Bin Walid Himmani*, was appointed to *Multan*. *Mahamed Cassim* then

proceeded towards *Dibalpur*, and he had at that time nearly 50,000 horse and foot under his banners, independent of his former regular army; in short, he conquered as far as the confines of *Kunnoj* and *Cashmir*, and saw those two cypress trees which had been placed by *Dahir*.

Everywhere he left trust-worthy agents and returned to *Yassur** where it was decreed by fate that his life should terminate.

(To be continued.)

Cassim had otherwise proved himself too good a General not to have provided for the security of the Capital of the country when once in his power to render its falling into the hands of the enemy at all likely.

* In the Chach Nameh " Hadapoor."

Védánta-Sara, or Essence of the Védánta, an introduction into the Védánta Philosophy by Sadánanda Parivrákáchárya, translated from the original Sanscrit by E. ROER, Librarian to the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

PREFACE.

Of the Védánta-Sara two translations have already been published, one by Mr. Ward, (in his work View of the History, Literature and Mythology of the Hindoos) and the other in the German language, by the late Professor O. Frank. Ward's translation, which is evidently not taken from the Sanscrit, is very far from conveying a fair likeness of the original to the reader, and I need only quote the opinion of Colebrooke with regard to it, to prove its entire failure as a correct rendering of the original*.

The German for which we are indebted to O. Frank, was published together with the original text, in 1835 ; but, however creditable it is to the author, it is also inexact as a translation. Although a good Sanscrit scholar, and one of the first in Europe, who devoted his talents to that language, he had to struggle with the difficulty of ascertaining the real value of its technical terms, a difficulty which he had hardly the means of removing ; for in Professor Wilson's excellent Sanscrit Dictionary, only a few philosophical terms are explained, and without an explanation of such terms by pundits, or an extensive course of reading, the

* Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society Vol. II, p. 9. note. Mr. Ward has given, in the fourth volume of his View of the History, Literature and Mythology of the Hindoos (third edition,) a translation of the Védánta-Sara. I wish to speak as gently as I can of Mr. Ward's performance, but having collated this, I am bound to say, it is no version of the original text, and seems to have been made from an oral exposition through the medium of a different language, probably the Bengalese. This will be evident to the Oriental Scholar on the slightest comparison, for example the introduction, which does not correspond with the original in so much as a single word, the name of the author's preceptor alone excepted ; nor is there a word of the translated introduction countenanced by any of the commentaries. At the commencement of the treatise too, where the requisite qualifications of a student are enumerated, Mr. Ward makes his author say, that a person, possessing those qualifications, is an heir to the Veda ; there is no term in the text, nor in the commentaries, which could suggest the notion of heir, unless Mr. Ward has so translated *adhicari*, (a competent or qualified person) which in Bengalese signifies proprietor, or with the epithet *uttara*, *uttara adhicari*, heir or successor. It would be needless to pursue the comparison further. The meaning of the original is certainly not to be gathered from such translations as this, and (as Mr. Ward terms them) of other principal works of the Hindoos, which he has presented to the public.

exact metaphysical meaning of them must remain problematical. Besides O. Frank is the disciple of a particular philosophical school, that of Hegel, and has very often coloured the ideas of the original so as to correspond with his own system. I hope, therefore, that I have not undertaken a useless task, in bringing before the public a third translation, in which it has been my constant endeavor to render the original as faithfully as possible. For the language of this translation, I have as a foreigner to solicit the indulgence of the reader; and, independently of other considerations, it will be remembered, that English in itself presents difficulties, in rendering with exactitude the real force and meaning of Sanscrit philosophical terms. As regards, however, the language of the preface, I am much indebted to the valuable assistance of Mr. H. Torrens, V. P. and Secretary to the Asiatic Society, and I take this opportunity of acknowledging my great obligations to him.

In publishing this translation, it is my principal object to attract the attention of the public once more to a branch of Hindoo learning, which, successfully cultivated as it was by Colebrooke, has been of late almost entirely neglected. The researches of that eminent scholar, as in other departments, were also with regard to the philosophy of the Hindoos, of the most comprehensive character. He not only gave a general sketch of the different systems of their philosophy, but also a critical introduction into this branch of Hindoo literature, almost entirely unknown before his day. As his labors then created extensive interest in Europe, it is much to be regretted, that these researches were afterwards but lamely followed up. The Germans indeed did as much as the want of material allowed them. I here allude to the researches of the two Schlegels (Fr. and A. W. von) W. V. Humboldt, Ritter, (in his History of Philosophy) O. Frank, Lassen and others, who published either original texts, or translations, or critical treatises. But however meritorious these labors were, most of them, as founded upon Colebrooke's works, could not much enlarge our information on Hindoo philosophy. For this object the publication of Sanscrit texts, or translations was necessary, which were looked for chiefly from India and England. Here, however, it appears, that the interest in Hindoo philosophy was only enforced by the name of Colebrooke, as with him almost all further investigation ceased; for, with the exception of Professor Wilson, who edited Colebrooke's translation of the Sankhya

Karika, and translated the native commentaries on this work, no one has published any work of importance with regard to Hindoo philosophy. Without endeavoring here to enlarge on the causes of this neglect, I must not omit to touch on the principal one—the want of encouragement, with which philosophical researches are met in England. The study of philosophy is of its very nature adapted but to few; but even they will be deterred from it, if that part of the public, to which they are to communicate the results of their enquiries, is totally indifferent to them. If philosophy generally be but in little repute in England, it is easy to conclude, what must be the neglect of the systems of the Hindoos in particular, which, it appears, are entirely superseded by the much more elaborate systems of Europe. The Hindoos, it is said, are acute enough in nominal distinctions, but their enquiries, originating from an absurd and gross superstition, recur only to this root, instead of explaining the phenomena of nature. Without entering into a full discussion of this subject, I may be allowed to observe, that this view would at once destroy all historical study. On account of their historical interest, we not only direct our attention to the works of Grecian art, but also to those of Egypt, Etruria, Persia, Peru and of other countries, because they show us the characters of those nations in different states of civilization. If these possess a general interest, Hindoo philosophy is a monument, which must claim the attention of every enquiring mind, as it reveals to us the inmost character of the nation, closely interwoven as it is with all institutions of public and domestic life, with their literature, religion and their views of the means, by which their moral welfare might be advanced or retarded. But waiving this general interest, we must be aware of the connexion of Hindoo philosophy with the development of European science, by the new platonic philosophy, which evidently contains the principles and results of Hindoo philosophy, a connexion which can be only fully understood, when we know more of the history of the Hindoo systems.*

The *Védánta-Sara* is an abstract of the doctrines of the *Védánta* philosophy, and expounds more particularly those tenets which are ascribed by Colebrooke to the modern branch of this school. It comprehends in a very condensed form the whole range of the topics, which are discussed more fully in the different works of this school. The ob-

* Ritter's *Geschichte der Philosophie*. Vol. 4, p. 44.

curity, which prevails in some passages, is rather owing to the concentration than to the indistinctness of the ideas. The principles of the system are clearly laid down, and though in a few passages there is a deviation from them, they are never lost sight of. Other philosophical systems are only touched upon, when it is the object to prove their principles to be entirely inconsistent with themselves and with each other. The demonstrations, though short, are perspicuous, and sometimes even elegant. The illustrations are generally well selected and striking; and, if we consider the work to be rather of a descriptive than of a argumentative character, we must acknowledge, that it is a most excellent introduction to the study of that philosophy.

The following exposition is intended to place before the reader the chief metaphysical topics of this work and to compare the doctrines, explained in it, with those philosophical systems, Hindoo as well as European, with which it has an affinity in its principles. There exists according to it only one eternal and unchangeable being, who has the attributes of existence and consciousness. The manifold distinctions in what may be called, the material and intellectual worlds, are together with those worlds, mere *εἰδωλα*, produced by unconsciousness,* (which objective is something analogous with matter, and subjective a want of clear perception of the unreality of all material objects.) For example, if you reflect on the reality of the world, you find it has none, because it is changeable throughout; all reality is centred in one being, who is beyond change, and concerning whom there is not even change or plurality of ideas, as it includes no distinctions in itself. Thus of the supposed reality of the world, nothing remains; naught exists but mere *εἰδωλα*, which, in contradistinction with the knowledge of Brahma (or of the infinite being without plurality,) may be called ignorance or unconsciousness. It is the principal work of philosophy to destroy this ignorance, or to unite our finite being with the infinite Brahma, or in the words of the Védánta, to know ourselves as Brahma. It

* The words consciousness and unconsciousness do not express the full meaning of the corresponding Sanscrit words. Consciousness means the knowledge of what passes in the mind, that is, a reflected knowledge, while the Sanscrit term refers to knowledge in general. As Colebrooke, however, has used in his essay those words, I thought it better not to introduce another terminology, and have only to remind the reader, that consciousness and unconsciousness are here always to be understood in the more comprehensive sense.

is, however, impossible for any individual immediately to obtain this true knowledge, as any idea, which we may conceive of Brahma, previous to the performance of the conditions, conducive to that knowledge, must be one of the various illusions, which are created by ignorance in our minds. The true knowledge can only be obtained by a systematic method, which is twofold, theoretical and practical. The theoretical method is the direction of there flective power upon Brahma, and it proceeds first synthetically from the infinite substance to the εἰδωλα or appearances, showing the various modes, in which Brahma is successively represented by unconsciousness; and secondly analytically, from the manifold creations of unconsciousness to the infinite substance, successively showing the unreality of them and returning to Bramha as the only source of reality. The practical method presents the means, by which our senses, passions, and thoughts are subdued; the mind is gradually detached from worldly concerns, directed to the performance of good acts alone, and finally fixed upon the contemplation of God.

It is remarkable, how in the principle itself the fallacy of the system is manifest. If Bramha be the only real being, all other things (material or immaterial) are unreal, and this inference is expressly recognized, there should be not even the appearance of an existence of them; but it is also said, that those things must not be considered as nothing; so that they have, to say so, a kind of imperfect existence, but still an existence, which cannot be derived from the infinite Bramha. In short, there is not *one* principle, but, against the express assertion of the Védānta, *two* principles, the infinite, unchangeable, omniscient being, and the finite, changeable and unconscious being. This is also evident from the consequences; for the world or its appearance is not produced either by Bramha or by unconsciousness, but by their mutual causality; for in Bramha only, when clouded by the mists of ignorance, is the spectacle of a world produced. According to this exposition of the theory, which must, I think, be allowed to be correct, Bramha would coincide with the notion, which occidental philosophers form of substance, and unconsciousness with that of attributes and modes.

What is called unconsciousness, has, however, a twofold meaning; according to one, it is delusive appearance, by which unreal things are represented as real; according to the other, it is the origin of the actual world. We shall consider only this second meaning, which we

will endeavour clearly to define. It is evident, that an adequate notion of that origin can only be obtained from its productions, as the nature of the cause is perceived by the nature of its effects, and this mode of inference we may the more insist upon, as the inductive process is recommended by the system as one of the means, whereby to arrive at true knowledge. Now the Védántists hold, that unconsciousness causes the emanation of five elements, ether (*ákása*,) air, fire, water and earth. These elements, though subtile and imperceptible to the senses, have material qualities, and are therefore themselves special kinds of matter. To know their origin, we have then to divest them of their special qualities, by which we arrive at the notion of matter in general (separated from all differences of space and time,) and we must therefore say, that unconsciousness and the general notion of matter are virtually the same, a necessary inference, however, but one which the Védántists took care to avoid, because the vague notion of unconsciousness suited admirably as a cloak to the radical error of their system.

As it is here my object to place before the reader the most prominent characteristics only of the system, I am not to enter into the various emanations from unconsciousness, but will at once state the opinion, which the Védánta forms as to the highest form of knowledge, to which the individual mind can aspire, and which in fact is a consequence, necessarily derived from the first principles of the system. When we have perceived, that all the emanations of unconsciousness are unreal, when we are able to distinguish in the universal as well as in the individual soul, that which is real and eternal from the unreal and the transient, then is our notion of Bramha firmly and adequately established, in the knowledge, that the individual soul is the same with the eternal Bramha, as the differences, which at first sight seemed to exist between them, became gradually destroyed by the progress of reflection. But even this adequate notion of Bramha, as an act of the mind, is included in the emanations of unconsciousness, and it is therefore an unavoidable inference, that this act also, when once arrived at, should be destroyed as one, though the purest and highest, of the emanations of unconsciousness, when the individual soul, comprehending its reality, returns to Bramha, with whom it is identical.

The philosophy of the Védánta, as explained in the Védánta-Sara, differs undoubtedly from the more ancient expositions of this doctrine,

and I fully concur in Colebrooke's opinion, that the attempt to proclaim the material world as mere illusion, had not originated with the founders of the Védánta. The centre on which all Hindoo philosophy depends, is the opposition between the phenomena of the mind and of the body, by which they were led even in early times, as it appears, to maintain the existence of two principles, soul and matter.* This is likewise observable in the Védánta; soul and matter, though produced from one and the same substance, are at first real productions, which have the same claim to existence, and only at a later period, when on comparison of both with the substantia absoluta their reality came to be questioned, the reality of matter was denied, and the expedient of an illusion was resorted to, in order to explain its existence.

The Védánta in general differs from the Sankhya; the two systems assimilate *in their explanation of productions of the material world*; but while the Sankhya lays down the original independent existence of spirit and of matter, the Védánta derives both from one and the same substance, in which their differences are destroyed. The two schools of the Védánta, the ancient and modern, agree as to this substantia absoluta; the material productions, however, derived from it, though created in the same successive order, are differently explained; they are real productions according to the ancient school, while the modern one believes them to be a mere illusion, produced by unconsciousness.

Among the various systems of the Greeks, we can only find that of the Eleates, with which we may compare the principles of the Védánta. We there perceive the same all comprehensive substance, which has the same attribute of eternal, unchangeable existence which is without differences, either with regard to itself or others, and the sole attribute of which is thought. We also find in the disputes of the Eleate Zeno with other Greek philosophers the same inclination to consider all material things as mere illusion. But I abstain from further comparison of the systems, as the Védánta treats of the subject matter synthetically as well as by analysis, whereas the Eleate school has confined itself wholly to the latter process.

The modern Védánta bears the closest affinity to the system of Spi-

* Though it appears a matter of course, that all philosophers should commence from these principles, history shows the reverse. Thus, Greek philosophy was at its commencement entirely physical.

noza. His Bramha is that infinite substance with infinite attributes, beside which there is nought else existing, though he so far differs from the modern Védántists as to assign to it two attributes, that of thought, and that of extension, which the Védántists of that school deny the existence of.

They maintain a perfect Ens or a real unity without any element of opposite qualities. Spinoza indeed asserts, that his Ens Cogitans is identical with the Ens Extensum, difference existing only in the perception of the whole under the one or under the other attribute; but on the other hand he also asserts, that each attribute must be understood of itself, that is to say, that it has no relation whatever to any other attribute.* Though the Védánta philosophy in this instance is evidently more strict in the definition of the principle, it deviates from the original purity of its notion, when attempting to explain the phenomena of its world.

Both systems present likewise a singular coincidence in the mode, by which they connect finite things with infinite substance. Spinoza declares it altogether impossible to derive finite things from infinite substance, because any finite substance is only finite, if determined by another substance of the same kind, that is, infinite substance is always co-existent with finite things.† The Védánta-Sara maintains also, that the perception of Bramha as one whole or as many parts, depends merely on the accident of that perception; if perceived as one, it would be one; if perceived as many, it would be many; but in the latter case the unity of entity would be in no sort destroyed or altered. Here likewise we find a plurality of material objects, not derived from the one whole (which has the attributes of infinity, eternity, &c.,) but co-existent in it, so

* Though it should be hardly necessary to make quotations in such a general sketch as this, still it may be not found useless to confirm some of the above assertions. Per attributum intelligo id, quod intellectum de substantia percipit, tanquam ejus essentiam constituens. Spin. Eth. 1. Def. 4. Unumquodque unius substantiæ attributum per se concipi debet. Eth. Prop. 10. Duæ attributa, realiter distincta, per se concipiuntur, idest, unum sine ope alterius. Eth. Def. 3.

† Quodcunque singulare sive quavis res, quæ finita est et determinatam hæbet existentiam, non potest existere nec ad operandum determinari, nisi ad existendum et operandum determinetur ab alia causa, quæ etiam finita est, et determinatam habet existentiam; et rursus hæc causam non potest etiam existere, neque ad operandum determinari, nisi ab alia, quæ etiam finita est et determinetur ad existendum et operandum, et sic in infinitum. Eth. 1. Prop. 28.

that both views are essentially the same: this way of reasoning, however, must not be applied to the pure Bramha. Here then both systems differ, and if we must assign to the Védānta the meed of greater purity in its principle, we must expressly state, that in the development of the system Spinoza is as infinitely superior to the Védānta as the science of his time was to that of the Hindoos generally.

It is easy also to find many points of resemblance between the modern Védānta and the doctrines of Fichte* and Schelling; as the world, being a production of Maya, or unconsciousness, and according to Fichte, being a phenomenon of the Ego in its different modes of considering itself, and Schelling's negation of the nothing by the absolute substance, his absolute Selbstbejahung, compared with the infinite Bramha, without whom nothing exists, are ideas closely related; but we abstain from further comparisons and conclude this introduction with some remarks on Hindoo philosophy in general.

We must acknowledge the ingenuity and originality of thought, by which this system was brought forth. It is evidently not a primitive notion of the mind, such as might almost arbitrarily assign a general cause to certain phenomena, which provoke reflection. It is an elaborate system, in which the principle and the method are clearly defined, and the inferences are fairly deduced, and compared with the original impulses, by which reflection was called forth. It is also evident, that such a doctrine, especially as it was considered as the last goal of perfection by all classes, must have had a powerful influence in the formation of individual character as well as on the civilisation of the people; for to obtain its final object, purity of the moral character was indispensable. It is, to confess the truth, a philosophical system, elevated, far above the crude notions, connected with national superstitions, above the prejudices of caste, as well as above the formalities of ceremonial worship; for the supreme substance is only known by a continued

* Fichte, in asserting that the external objects are merely productions of the ego, appears to be most closely connected with the modern Védānta. This is, however, not the case. The Védāntists maintain the world to be appearance, because it cannot be considered as real: Fichte, on the contrary, from its being a mere appearance in the Ego, argues its unreality. This Ego moreover, as the identity of subject and object, is very different from any doctrine in the Védānta, and the idealistic principle, from which it appears to proceed, is only pretended, as the phenomena of nature are in fact derived from a realistic basis.

and methodical direction of the reflective power of the mind upon it, and the Sankhya expressly asserts, that the religious ceremonies and doctrines of the Védas are not sufficient for final salvation.* It is, however, not surprising, that similar effects were not produced by the philosophy of the Hindoos, as by that of the Greeks. In Greece no caste existed; men of science rose from all classes of the people, and the work of the higher faculties of the mind was not restricted to the priests. When therefore philosophers found the religious doctrines of their people inconsistent with sound reason and morality, they did not hesitate to pronounce them as such, and to demonstrate their pernicious effects upon the moral and religious principles of the people.† In India, on the contrary, the cultivation of science was incumbent on the priests alone, and if the results of their enquiries were strongly opposed to the religious prejudices of the people, their whole position most forcibly recommended them to conceal what they considered truths, because destructive of those very prejudices, whence they derived their privileges and subsistence. Thus influenced on the one side by the power of truth to the revelation of their opinions, on the other by worldly advantages to their concealment, they followed a middle course, that is, they endeavored to reconcile the tenets of religion with their philosophical views, without deserting the consistency of their principles. By this proceeding must religion, of course have been degraded from its state of sublime agency, as advancing the best interests of mankind, to becoming the base instrument of delusion on uncultivated minds, while philosophy lost its dignity and genuine character, being mixed up with a corrupt theology, and the distance between the learned and the people in general became the wider. It was only one of the consequences of such a position, that the common people by nature and law were unfit to enjoy the knowledge possessed by the privileged castes. Owing to the exclusiveness of science it is another consequence, that philosophy in India was more directed to theoretical contemplation than to practical purposes; the Greeks as well as the modern European

* This is in fact also maintained by the Védánta, absorption into Brahma being the final end of an individual intelligence, and all efforts which are not directed to this end, retarding it in a more or less degree.

† Sextus Empir. Adv. Math., where he speaks about Xenophanes, and Clem. Alex. Chrom. V. Xenophanes; but the principal passage, and perhaps the best, what has been said on the pernicious results of polytheism, Plat. Repub. Lib. II.

nations, on the contrary, bestowed the same attention upon practical as on abstract questions; for while, according to the one, it is a duty of mankind to remain in social connexion, a duty which should even be enforced, it is, according to the other, the highest privilege of the wise to separate himself from all social connexions, to endeavour at a total abdication of the impulses and motives for action, which the world or our ourselves can present, until the soul has arrived at that condition, in which it returns to the source of all truth and reality, and in which the individual becomes annihilated by absorption into the great origin of all things, who is all, and in whom all are included.

Salutation to Ganésha.

For the accomplishment of my desire I take refuge to the soul, infinite in reality, in knowledge and in bliss,* the place of the universe, which neither by word nor thought can be approached.

Having worshipped my teacher *Advyánanda*,† who by overcoming the notion of duality, is in truth so named, I shall expound the Essence of the Védánta according to my understanding.

The name of Védánta applies to such arguments as are taken from Védánta. the Upanishads‡ to the Shárírikasutras§ and other similar Shastras, which tend to the same end.

As this work is an introduction to the Védánta, it need not separately explain the categories, by which the Védánta is अनुबन्धः completed. There are four categories in the Védánta, the qualified person, the object, the connection, and the final end.

* This may also be translated, "the infinite, eternal, omniscient, blissful soul," or "the soul, which is the bliss of infinite being, and knowledge." I here observe, that the soul is not something different from those predicates, but the identity of reality, knowledge and bliss.

† Advyánanda means who finds his felicity in non-duality.

‡ Upanishad, the theological part of the Vedánta, or argumentative part of the Védas. Wilson. The commentator, Rámakrishna Tírtha remarks, that it is the object of the Upanishads to explain the unity of the universal and the individual soul.

§ The Sárírika, Mímánsa, Brahme-sútra or Sáríra-sútra, above mentioned, is a collection of succinct aphorisms, attributed to Bádaráyana, who is the same with Vyása, or Védavyása, also called Dwaipáyana or Crishna-dwaipáyana. Colebrooke, Tr. R. A. Soc. Vol. II, p. 3.

A qualified person is he, who by the perusal, as it is prescribed, *Qualified person.* of the Védas and Védángas having first obtained अधिकारो the *true* sense of all the Védas, who in this or a former life having renounced the objects of desire, and the works which are *forbidden*, who by observing the daily ceremonies as well as those prescribed on certain occasions, the expiations and acts of internal worship, being liberated from all sin, and therefore thoroughly purified in his mind, and who having performed the four means, has become perfect in knowledge.

Objects of desire, as for instance the Jyótishtómas*, are such as are *Objects of desire.* means of obtaining heaven and other desirable objects ; prohibited is what causes (the punishment

काम्यानि

and of aversion.

निषिद्धानि

Daily ceremonies.

नित्यनि

Ceremonies on certain occasions.

नैमित्तिकानि

Expiations.

प्रायश्चित्तानि

Acts of worship.

उपासनानि

of the daily ceremonies is the purification of the mind, that of the acts of internal worship is the fixing of the mind upon Bramha.

“ It is him, whom the Bramhans by the word of the Védas and by religious austerities wish to comprehend,” says the Sruti.

“ By austerities sin is destroyed ; by knowledge, immortality obtained,” says the Sruti.

* A particular sacrifice, at which sixteen officiating priests are required. Wilson’s Sanscrit Dict.

† Religious abstraction, meditation, repetition of Mantras, sipping of water, &c to be performed by the three first classes of Hindoos at particular and stated periods in the course of every day, especially at sunrise, sunset, and also, though not essentially, at noon. Wil. S. D.

‡ A religious or expiatory observance regulated by the moon’s age, diminishing the daily consumption of food every day by one mouthful, for the dark half of the moon, and increasing it in like manner during the light half. Wil. S. D.

The secondary fruit of the daily ceremonies, of those enjoined on certain occasions, and of the acts of internal worship, is the gaining of the world of the forefathers and of the celestials.

“ By works the first is obtained, by knowledge the latter,” says the Sruti.

Means are : First, the distinction of the real from the unreal thing ;

Means.

Secondly, the disregard of the enjoyment of fruits

साधनानि

(arising from works) as well in this as in a future life ;

Thirdly, tranquillity of mind, self-restraint, &c. ; Fourthly, the desire of emancipation.

The distinction of the real from the unreal thing, is to know, that

नित्यानित्य

Bramha is the real thing, and beside him all is

वस्तु विवेकः

unreal. Disregard of the enjoyment of the fruits,

*Distinction of the real
from the unreal thing.*

arising from works, in this as well as in a future

*Disregard of enjoy-
ment in this as well as in
another world.*

life, is entirely to renounce the enjoyment of

things of this world, as for instance, of wreaths or

sandelwood, &c. which are transient, because they

must be obtained by works, as well as to renounce the enjoyment of things of another world, as for instance, of the juice of immortality, &c., because they are also transient.

Means of self-command are, *a.* tranquillity of mind, *b.* self-restraint, *c.*

Means of self-command.

Tranquillity of mind.

resting, *d.* endurance, *e.* religious contemplation

and *f.* faith. Tranquillity of mind is the refraining

शमः

of the mind from objects of the ear and the other

senses, with the exception of such objects as refer to Bramha, (Bramha as united with the three qualities) self-restraint is the coercion of the

Self-restraint.

external senses from all objects, with the exception

दमः

of such as refer to Bramha. Resting is to rest from

Resting.

all objects, when returning (into the mind) with

उपरतिः

exception of such as refer to Bramha, or to abandon,

according to prescribed rules, all works that are enjoined. Endurance

Endurance.

is the sustaining of cold and warm, and of all those

सहिष्णुता

sensations that have their contrary ones.

Religious contemplation is to keep the mind fixed upon the hearing
Religious contemplation. &c. of Bramha, and upon such objects by which

समाधिः

this is facilitated. Faith is belief in the words

of the spiritual guide and of the Védánta. Desire of emancipation is the wish of liberation. He that is perfect in knowledge, having obtained this state of mind, is called a qualified person.

Faith.

अधा

Desire of emancipation

मुमुक्षुत्वं

“Tranquil in mind and self-restrained,” says the Sruti, and it is also observed, “To him who is tranquil in his mind, who has subdued his senses, whose sins are removed, who acts according to the precepts (of the Shashtra) who abounds in virtues, who is a follower of the teacher and strives for emancipation, to such a one must always this (the Shashtra) be given.”

II. *Object*, (of the Védánta,) is the unity of the sentient soul and of Bramha, the soul in its pure state, as to be proved from arguments of the Védánta.

विषयः

III. *Connection*, between that unity as object of knowledge, and the Upanishads which explain it, is the relation between the object of knowledge and that which

सम्बन्धः

makes it known.

IV. Final end is the destruction of the ignorance which obtains with regard to the knowledge of that unity (of the individual and universal soul) and the gaining of beatitude in accordance with his (Bramhás) being.

Final end.

प्रयोजनं

“Who knows the soul, overcomes misery,” says the Sruti, and further,

“Who knows Bramha, becomes like Bramha.”

That qualified person, being burned by the fire of birth, death and other worldly misery, as a person whose head is burning, takes refuge in the sea, repairs with offerings in his hand to the teacher who knows the Védas, and puts his faith in Bramha, and becomes his (the teacher's) follower.

“Holding (he) offerings in his hands, (repairs) to him who knows the Védas, and puts his faith in Bramha,” says the Sruti.

II. *Object*. That teacher with deepest love instructs him by means of the improper transferring and of the true abstraction.*

“To him, when arrived, thus spoke the teacher,” says the Sruti.

* Adhyárópa (the same with Arópa, Adhyásha, Bhrama) is literally “placing upon,” and signifies error with regard to the infinite being.

Improper transferring is the placing of an unreal thing upon *Improper transferring*. the real thing, as the placing of (the notion of)

अध्यारोपः a snake upon a rope, which is not a snake.

The real thing is the eternal, omniscient, blissful Bramha, without *Real and unreal thing*. duality. The unreal thing is all, that is in-

वस्त्ववस्तु animate without consciousness.* The thing

अज्ञानं without consciousness is according to some what

Thing without consci-
ousness.

cannot be explained by (the ideas of) existence or non-existence, according to others, the something, composed of the three qualities,† which exists, and obstructs knowledge.

I am ignorant, this and the like you perceive by reflection, and

Unity and multiplicity “you know the power of the soul, in which its
of the thing without own qualities are inherent,” says the Sruti. This
consciousness.

(something) without consciousness by the ideas of generality and speciality is perceived as one thing and many things. For as by the application of (the idea) of generality to trees the word forest in the singular number is perceived, or by the same notion

* Vide preface.

† **गुणः** Commonly translated, quality, but more adequately degree of material existence. Guna is likewise here in the text not a quality of the thing without consciousness, but the three Gunas are its actual being. A Guna, as being the source of all derived material existence, can consequently not be explained, but by its effects. Lassen renders these three modes of existence by—essentia, impetus, and caligo. Colebrooke, *Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. I. p. 249, says, with regard to them: “The Sankhya, as other Indian systems of philosophy, is much engaged with the consideration of what is termed the three qualities, if indeed quality is the proper import of the term; for the Scholiast of Capila understands it as meaning, not quality or accident, but substance, a modification, fettering the soul, conformably with another acceptation of Guna, signifying a cord. The first and highest is goodness, (sattwa.) It is alleviating, enlightening, attended with pleasure and happiness; and virtue predominates in it. In fire it is prevalent, wherefore flame ascends, and sparks fly upwards. In man, when it abounds, as it does in beings of a superior order, it is the cause of virtue. The second and middlemost is foulness or passion, (rajas or téjas.) It is active, urgent and variable, attended with evil and misery. In air it predominates, wherefore wind moves transversely. In living beings, it is the cause of vice. The third and lowest is darkness, (tamas.) It is heavy and obstructive, attended with sorrow, dullness and illusion. In earth and water it predominates, wherefore they fall or tend downwards. In living beings it is the cause of stolidity. These three qualities are not mere accidents of nature, but are of its essence, and enter into its composition. We speak of the qualities of nature, as we do of the trees of a forest,” says the Sānchyas.

many waters appear as a single thing, so by the application of the idea of generality to the unconscious things which are united with sentient souls and manifested by (the idea of) plurality, they appear as one single thing.

“Which is not produced, which is one” (ignorance, Maya,) says the Sruti.

In this universality (of unconsciousness) by being the attribute of the perfect one, is the principal quality, viz. that of goodness, prevailing; the soul in which this (universal unconsciousness) is inherent, and which has the attributes of omniscience, omnipotence, supreme government and other perfections, which is manifested by (the notions of) existence and non-existence, which is the all-pervading cause of the world, is
Supreme ruler.

ईश्वरः from manifesting all that is without consciousness.

“Who knows all, is omniscient,” says the Sruti.

This universality (of unconsciousness) is the causal organism (of the
Causal organism. soul,) since it is the cause of the universe, it is

कारणशरीरं the cause of blessedness, since it involves all bliss and has the quality of covering like a case; it is profound sleep, since it rests above all; it is therefore said to be the place of destruction of the subtile and gross expanses.

As by the application of (the idea of) speciality a forest is perceived as trees in the plural number, or water as many waters, so by the application of (the idea of) speciality the universal unconsciousness appears as many unconscious things.

“Bramha is by his Mâyás manifold,” says the Sruti.

In this instance by the application of universality and speciality arises the name of universality and speciality, (of unconsciousness.) This speciality of unconsciousness, by its being an attribute of the single soul, has the principal quality of goodness in its impure state. The soul, in which this (special unconsciousness) is inherent, and which has therefore the attributes of ignorance, subjection and other imperfections, is called the
Individual Intelligence. individual intelligence;* it has the attribute of

मात्रः partial knowledge, since it manifests only one

* I have rendered the Sanscrit term : **मात्रः** by individual intelligence. The adequate version would be : who knows only a little, which is, however, in fact the same with the idea of an individual intelligence.

unconscious thing ; it is not able to manifest many, because it has the quality of indistinctness*. Since it (the special unconsciousness) is the cause of self†, and of other similar attributes, it is the causal organism (of the soul) as it includes all bliss, the case of blessedness, as it rests above all, profound sleep, therefore the place of destruction of the subtle and coarse organisms. In that state the supreme ruler and the individual intelligences enjoy by the subtle powers of unconsciousness, which are the manifestations of the soul, (perfect) blessedness.

“The individual intelligence, which is the same with the soul, enjoys bliss,” says the Sruti.

This is also confirmed by the fact, that one who awakes from sleep, makes the reflection,—Sleeping I was happy, I knew nothing.

There is no distinction between both the universality and speciality, (of unconsciousness) as there is none between forest and the trees, and water as one thing, and water as many waters. There is no distinction likewise between both, the supreme ruler and the individual intelligences, in which that universality and speciality are inherent, as there is none between the sky, which covers the forest and the trees, and between the sky which is reflected by the ocean and by many waters.

“That Ruler of all,” says the Sruti.

As there is for both the forest and the trees, and the sky, which is attributed to them, as well as the water and the waters, and the sky, reflected by them, another not attributed sky, which is the location of them, so is for both, the unconsciousness and the soul, in which it (the unconsciousness) is inherent, another soul which is not inherent, and which is called the fourth‡.

“They call him blessed, tranquil, without duality, the fourth,” says the Sruti.

* This indistinctness is produced, according to the Tika, by the state in which the single soul is placed, viz., in which the first quality, being suppressed by the second and third qualities, cannot be clearly manifest.

† अहङ्कारः Self, more properly what produces self, the notion of egoity, the faculty or power to refer all perceptions and notions to a self, an ego.

‡ This term of the fourth will afterwards be explained.

This fourth, the soul in its pure state*, if, like a burning iron-ball, not distinguished from the unconsciousness and the soul, in which it is inherent, is the literal meaning of the great sentence, (viz., that art thou, which the teacher first addresses to his pupil) if distinguished, it is the real meaning of the great sentence.

The unconsciousness possesses two powers, the covering and the ill-
 Covering power of un- lusive†. The unconsciousness, though finite, hides
 consciousness.

अवरणशक्तिः by its covering power the infinite, incorporeal soul, by obstructing the mind of the observer, in the same way, as even a small cloud covers the orb of the sun, which extends many miles, by obstructing the direction of the eye of the observer.

Thus it is said, "As an ignorant man, the eye of whom is covered by a cloud, thinks the sun to be covered by a cloud and without radiance, so the self as soul, which is infinite knowledge, appears before the eye of the ignorant as constrained in limits."

When the soul is covered by this power, then arises the impression of dominion, possession, happiness, misery and of other notions, connected with material things, as from a rope, which is not perceived to be a rope (which is covered by its own ignorance) the idea of a snake

Illusive power.

विचेयशक्तिः is produced.—As the ignorance with regard to a rope, produces by its own power (the idea of) a snake and similar things upon a rope which is not perceived to be a rope (which is covered by its own ignorance) so shows the unconsciousness (ignorance) by its own power all the expanses of the universe upon the soul, which is covered by ignorance. This power is called the illusive power.

It is said, "The illusive power of ignorance creates the world from the internal organisms of Bramhá's egg."

* That is to say, considered in its absolute state, in which all differences and attributes are annihilated, and which can only be expressed by the notions of infinite existence and knowledge.

† There is this difference between the two powers, the one is negative, there is an absence of truth, because it is concealed; the second, however, is a creative power, it creates appearances, illusions which claim to be realities; the term illusive does not fully express the Sanscrit word, but I did not find a more adequate one.

The soul, in which the ignorance with its two powers is inherent, is by its own principality the instrumental cause* (निमित्तं) and by the principality of its quality (ignorance) the material cause (उपादानं), as a spider by its own principality is the instrumental cause, and by the principality of its body the material cause of the web. From the soul, covered with unconsciousness, as illusive power, (the second power) in which the darkness (the third quality) prevails, is produced the ether,† from the ether the wind, from the wind the fire, from the fire the water, from the water the earth.

“From *this* soul, in which unconsciousness is inherent, the ether is produced,” says the Sruti. In the cause of them (the five elements,) darkness predominates on account of the prevalence of the inanimate in those elements; in that state are the three qualities, (truth, action and darkness) produced in the ether and the other elements according to the quality of their causes. Those subtile elements are called atoms (तन्मात्रं) and uncombined elements.

From them are produced the organisms and the gross elements. The subtile organisms are the seventeen organs, and the internal organisms. Those organs are the five intellectual senses, understanding and reason, the five organs of acting and the five internal airs. The intellectual senses are the ear, the sense of touch (skin,) the eyes the tongue and the nose. They are separately, according to their

Understanding.	order, produced from the united parts of the first
बुद्धिः	quality of those elements. <i>Understanding</i> is called
Reason.	the action of the mind, by which it asserts; <i>reason</i>
मनः	that action of the mind, by which it doubts or de-
Thinking.	cides; in both (actions) are <i>thinking</i> (चित्तं) and con-
चित्तं	sciousness included; thinking is that action of the

* There are three kinds of causes, 1. Samavāyikārana, the same which is here called उपादानं, which signifies the elements, of which any substance may be produced, therefore material cause; 2. Asamavāyikārana, the actual union of the composing parts; 3. Nimitta Kārana, the instrument, by which an effect is produced; vide Bhasha Parichéda.

† आकाशः is the first element, in which all others are comprehended; according to the Bhasha Parichéda it is everywhere, and has, with the exception of the sound, the same attributes with time. In want of a more appropriate term ether perhaps expresses best its meaning.

Consciousness. mind, by which it examines ; consciousness, by which
अहङ्कारः it perceives its actions as its own actions. They
 are also produced by the united first qualities of those elements,
 which is evident from the fact, that they have the power to manifest.
 The understanding together with the intellectual senses, forms the
Intelligent case of the soul. intelligent case of the soul ; this (case) on ac-
 count of its manifesting the impulses of dominion,

possession and pride, is called the administering sentient soul, the possessor of this and another world. The reason together with the organs of
Mental case of the soul. action form the mental case. Organs of action
 are word, hand, foot, the organs of evacuation and

generation. They are separately according to their order, produced by parts of the second quality. *The vital airs* are those of respiration, of inspiration, of circulation, the guttural air and the equalizing air, (of digestion.) The air of *respiration* (प्राणः) is going upwards through the nose, that of *inspiration* (अपानः) going downwards to the lower extremity of the intestine, that of *circulation* is diffused throughout the whole body. The *guttural wind* (उदानः) moving upwards turns back again, and has its place in the throat. The equalizing air (समानः) passing through the middle of the body, equalizes the food, which is taken by eating or drinking ; to equalize is to digest and to produce the different substances for assimilation or excretion. Others maintain five airs, different from those above mentioned, viz. of eructation, of winking, of digestion, of yawning and of nourishing. The air of eructation (नागृ) produces belching, that of winking (कृम्मः) effects the closing of the eyes, &c. that of digestion (कृकरः) produces hunger, that of yawning (देवदत्तः) produces yawning, that of nourishing (धनञ्जयः) makes the body stout. Others assert, that the latter five airs are included in the former classes. The five vital airs are produced by the united second qualities of the five elements, and
Vital case. form together with the acting organs the vital case ; it is produced by parts of the second qualities, because it is living action.

Among those cases the intelligent case, having the faculty of knowledge, is the ruling, the mental case, having the faculty of desire, is the causal, and the *vital case*, having the faculty of action, is the performer of works. The divisions of the cases are made according to

their fitness (for certain actions.) They are called, when united, the subtile organism of the soul. Here also becomes the whole subtile organism by being the object of One mind, universal organism like the forests and the sea, and by being the object of many minds, special organisms, like the trees and the waters. The soul, in which the

Hiranyagarbha. universality is inherent, is called (Hiranyagarbha)

the cause of himself, the sentient (conscious) being, because all things are arranged in him, and because the powers of knowledge and of action are inherent in him. The universality of this is the subtile organism (of the soul,) because it is subtler than the gross organism. The threefold case, having the desire of awaking, is dream, and therefore called the place of destruction of the gross organism.—Taijasa the soul, in which the speciality of this threefold organism is inherent, is called the *manifesting mind*. The speciality of this is the subtile organism from its being subtler than the gross organism. This threefold case having the desire of awaking, is dream, and therefore called the place of destruction of the gross organism. Both Shútráta and Taijasa perceive in that state the subtile objects by the subtile powers of the mind.

“Taijasa, the subtile possessor,” says the Sruti.

In that state there is no difference between Shútráta and Taijasa, in which the universality and speciality are inherent, as there is none between the sky which covers the forest and the trees, or the sky which is reflected by the sea and many waters. Thus is the production of the subtile organism.

The gross elements are composed of the subtile ones according to the combination of five. The combination of five is to divide each of the five elements into two parts,

Production of the gross elements, combination of five.

पञ्चीकृतं

then equally to divide each of the five former of the ten parts into four parts, to separate these four of the one half from their own parts, and to join them with the parts of the other elements. The combination of five is proved beyond doubt by the Sruti, in which a combination of three of the same kind occurs. Though the elements are equalized with each other (containing a fourth part of their former halves) yet it is proper to call them by their own name, according to the greater proportion of one element (in that combination.)

In that state sound is manifested in the ether, sound and feeling in the wind, sound, feeling and colour in the fire, these three with taste in the water, and these four with smell in the earth.

From these five elements, combined in the said manner, were produced the different Upper Lókas* (worlds) viz., Bhur-lóka, Bhuvar-lóka, Swar-lóka, Mahar-lóka, Janar-lóka, Tapar-lóka and Satya-lóka, which are placed above the others, then the Nether-lokas,† viz., Atala, Bitala, Sutala, Rasatala, Talátala, Mahátala and Patála, which are placed one beneath the other, farther Bramha's mundane egg, the gross organisms in their fourfold division, contained in that egg, and food, water and other substances.

Bodies (organic) are either produced from the womb, or from eggs, or from damp, or from germs. Those produced from the womb are born alive, as men, animals, &c. ; from eggs come forth from an egg, as birds, serpents, &c. ; produced from the damp are worms, insects, &c. ; which are born from hot moisture, produced from germs are those which emerge from the earth, as creepers, trees, &c.

Here also is the gross organism in its fourfold division, by being the object of one or many minds either a totality, like the forest or the ocean, or separated into a plurality of bodies, like the trees and waters. The soul in which this totality is inherent, is called Vaishwánara, Viráj, on account of its knowing itself as the totality of men, and of its governing the universe. This gross body is here

* **लोकः** (Lóka) world, division of the universe in general, three divisions are enumerated, or heaven, hell and earth ; another classification enumerates seven, exclusive of the infernal regions, or *Bhurlóka*, the earth, *Bhuvar-lóka*, the space between the earth and the sun, the region of the Munis, Siddhis, &c. *Sver-lóka* the heaven of Indra, between the sun and the polar-star. *Mahar-lóka*, the usual abode of Bhṛigu and other saints, who are supposed to be co-existent with Brahma. During the conflagration of the lower worlds, the saints ascend to the next, or *Jana-lóka*, which is described as the abode of Bramha's sons, Sanaca, Sananda, Sanatana and Sanatsumara ; above this is the fifth world, or the *Tapar-lóka*, where the deities, called Vairagis reside ; the seventh world, *Satya-lóka*, or *Bramha-lóka* is the abode of Bramha, and translation to this world exempts beings from farther birth ; the three first world are destroyed at the end of each calpa or day of Bramha ; the three last at the end of his life, or 100 of his years ; the fourth Lóka is equally permanent, but it is uninhabitable from heat at the time the three first are burning. Wils. Sansc. Dict.

† Internal regions, in which various evil beings have their abodes.

the universal gross body of the soul, and because it is subject to change from nutriment, it is called the nutritious case of the soul ; it is called awake, because it is the place in which the gross organisms are enjoyed.

The soul in which the speciality of this gross organism in its four-fold division is inherent, is called *Bishwa*, (which enters into all) because, not leaving the subtler body it enters into the gross body. The gross body of the soul as speciality, because it is subject to change from nutriment, is called the nutritious case of the soul, it is called awake, because it is the place in which the gross things are enjoyed. In that state perceive both Biswa and Baishánara (the universal soul and the single soul, in which the gross organism is inherent) by their five intellectual organs, which are respectively ruled by the quarters of the world, the winds, the sun, Varuna (god of waters) and the Aswis (Gemini) sound, feeling, colour, taste and smell, by their organs of action, which are respectively ruled by the fire, Indra, Upendra, (form of Vishnu) Jama, (death) Prajapati, (Bramha as creator) they possess the power of speech, taking, going, evacuating, generating, and by the internal four organs, understanding, reason, consciousness and thinking, which are respectively ruled by Chandra (moon) Chaturmukha, (the fourfaced, a form of Bramha) Chankara, (a form of Shiva) Achyuta, (Srikrishna) they possess the power of asserting, deciding, consciousness and thinking, that is to say, they possess all the objects of the gross organism.

“ In the state of awaking knows the soul the external objects,” says the Sruti.

In that state there is also no difference between Bishwa and Baishánara, in whom the universality and speciality of the gross organism are inherent, as there is none between the sky, which is covered by the forest, and the trees, or between the sky, which is reflected by the sea, and by many waters. Thus is the production of the universe of the gross organism from the five elements, in the combination of five. The universality of the expanses of the gross, subtle and causal bodies is one great expanse, as the universality of inner forests becomes one great forest, or as the universality of inner oceans one great ocean. The soul, in which this is inherent, from Bishva and Baishanara to the Supreme Ruler is *one soul*, like

the sky, covered by inner forests, or like the sky, reflected by the inner oceans. The uninherent soul, when like a burning iron-ball, not separated from both, the great expanse and the soul, in which the former is inherent, is the literal meaning of the great sentence: all this is in truth Bramha; when separated, it is the real meaning. Thus is the improper transferring of an unreal thing upon the real thing generally explained.

The various modes of placing this and this, or that and that, upon the all-pervading soul, will now be specified.

Various modes of transferring.

A very common man, because the Sruti says, "The soul is born as a son," because he loves his son as himself, and because, when his son is in good or bad circumstances, he thinks himself so, asserts, that *the son is the soul*. A Chárváka*, because the Sruti says, "This soul is a body of blood and flesh, because he leaves his own son in a burning house to save himself, and because he thinks, I am stout, I am thin, asserts, that the gross body is the soul." Another Chárváka, because the Sruti says, "The sentient souls, repairing to the Lord of creation, addressed him thus," because there is a want of bodily motion, when there is a want of the intellectual organs, and because he thinks, I am blind, I am deaf, asserts, that the intellectual organs are the soul. Another Chárváka, because the Sruti says, "The other internal soul is vital," because there is a want of action of the intellectual senses, when the vital airs are wanting, and because he thinks, I am hungry, I am thirsty, asserts, that the vital airs are the soul. Another Chárváka, because the Sruti says, "The other internal soul is reason," because there is a want of the action of the vital airs, &c., when the mind sleeps, and because he thinks, I assent, I doubt, asserts, that the reason is the soul. A Bauddha,† because

* Colebrooke, R. A. Trans. vol. i. p. 597, says of the sect of the Chárvácas, that they restrict to perception only the means of proof and sources of knowledge, that besides the four elements, earth, water, fire and wind, they acknowledge no other principles, that the soul is not different from the body.

† Col. Miscell. Essays, vol. i. p. 396. The Bauddhas or Saugatas are followers of Buddha or Sugata. No less than four sects have arisen among the followers of Buddha. Some maintain, that all is void. To those the designation of Mādhyamika is asserted by several of the commentators of the Védānta. Other disciples of Buddha...maintain the existence of conscious sense alone. These are called

the Sruti says, "Another internal soul is knowledge," because there is no action of the organs, when there is no ruler (first mover,) and because he thinks, I am enjoying, asserts, that the understanding is the soul. Prābhākaras and logicians, because the Sruti says, "another internal soul is pleasure, because it is evident, that ignorance destroys the understanding, and because they think, we are ignorant, we know, assert, that ignorance is the soul.

The followers of Bhatta, because the Sruti says, "The soul is knowledge as pleasure," because in deep sleep manifestation and also non-manifestation take place, and because they think, we do not know ourselves, assert, that the soul, in which unconsciousness is inherent, is the soul.

Another Baudha, because the Sruti says, "This (universe) was before (the creation) nothing," because in deep sleep there remains nothing, and because he who awakes, naturally thinks, I did not exist in deep sleep, asserts, that the soul is nothing.

In all those assertions, commencing with the son and terminating with the nothing, (void) the soul is asserted to be what really is not the soul. As the apparent arguments from the Sruti, inference and observation, which commence from the common assertion of the son, clearly show, that one argument from the Sruti, inference and observation is refuted by arguments of the same kind, it is evident, that the soul is not the son, &c. That the soul is not mind, not a first mover, that it is mere knowledge, mere existence, follows from the contradiction of a much more powerful Sruti, it follows from the reason, that all those inanimate principles from the son up to the void, by having their existence only through the manifestation of the soul, are transient like all material beings, and also, that there is much greater authority in the thought of the wise: I am Bramha. It is therefore evident from the contradiction of these arguments from the Sruti, inference and observation, that none of these principles is the soul. Therefore the eternal, pure, omniscient, free, true, self-existent (or

Jógachāras. Others, again, affirm the actual existence of external objects no less than internal sensations. Some of them recognise the immediate perception of interior objects. Others contend for a mediate apprehension of them. Hence two branches of the sect of Buddha, one denominated Sautrāntica, the other Vaibhāshica.

whose nature is true) all pervading Cháitanya, which manifests all those principles, is the supreme soul, this is the opinion of those that know the Védānta. Thus the improper transferring.

Abstraction (अपवादः) is called the action, by which the real thing is acknowledged as the only real thing, after the expanse of the unreal things which commence from the unconsciousness, has been removed from it, as a rope is acknowledged to be a mere rope, when the (notion of the) serpent has been removed from it. In this manner has the place of fruition, viz., the gross body in its fourfold division, the substances which are fit to be enjoyed, as drinking, food, &c., in this manner the place of their support, the earth and the other fourteen worlds, in this manner Bramhá's egg (the universe) all this has its existence alone in the gross elements in the combination of five, which are the cause of them. The elements in the combination of five together with the sound and other objects of the gross bodies, all this has its existence alone in the uncombined elements, which are the cause of them. The uncombined five elements together with the three qualities (truth, action and darkness) all this has its existence alone in the soul, in which unconsciousness as its cause, is inherent, further, this unconsciousness and the soul, in which it is inherent and which has the predicates of supreme lord, &c, is merely the fourth Bramha, the uninherent soul, which is the place of support for them.

The sentence, that* art thou,† becomes by means of both, the improper transferring and abstraction explained in its full meaning; 1, the universality of ignorance and what is connected with it; 2, the soul in which it is inherent and which has the predicates of omniscience, &c.; and 3, the uninherent soul, these three are, like a burning iron-ball, when perceived as one, the literal meaning of the term *that*; the uninherent soul, being the place of support, in which the properties of that (universality) are inherent, is the designable (real) meaning of the term, *that*. These three—1, the speciality of ignorance; 2, the soul, in which it inheres; and which has the quality of ignorance and other imperfections, and 3, the soul in which this is not inherent, these three like a burning iron-ball, when perceived as

* The universal soul.

† Any individual intelligence.

one, are the literal meaning of the term, thou ; the all-pervading blessed, fourth, supreme soul, being the place of support, in which the properties of that (speciality) are inherent, is the designable (real) meaning of the term, *thou*.

III. Connexion.—The meaning of the great sentence will now be explained. The sentence : *that art thou*, explains the true signification of the infinite Bramha by the three categories of relation. The three categories are : 1, the relation of what is identical in these two terms ; 2, the relation of what is distinguishable and distinguishing (subject and predicate) in the meaning of them ; 3, the relation of what is designable and what is designing in the meaning of those terms, viz. the universal and the single soul ; for it is said, “ that the identification, the fixing of what is distinguishable and distinguishing, and the relation between what is designable and designing explain the meaning of the terms of the single and universal soul.”

1. The *category of identification* ; as in the sentence, that is this Dévadatta, the term *that*, which refers to Dévadatta, as being in a past time, and the term *this*, which refers to Dévadatta, as being in the present time, (both terms) design the connexion in one and the same place ; thus also in the great sentence, “ that art thou,” both terms, viz. the term of *that*, which means the soul, as having the attributes of invisibility, &c. and the term of *thou*, which means the soul, as having the attributes of visibility, &c., design the connexion in one and the same soul.

2. The *category of what is distinguishable and what is distinguishing* (subject and predicate) ; as in the former sentence, (that is this Dévadatta) the meaning of the term *that*, which refers to Dévadatta, as being in a past time, and the term *this*, which refers to Dévadatta, as being in the present time, both come into the relation of what is distinguishable and distinguishing by the annihilation of their mutual differences ; thus also in the great sentence both terms, viz. the term *that*, which means the soul, as having the attributes of invisibility, &c., and the term *thou*, which means the soul, as having the attributes of visibility, &c. come into the relation of what is distinguishable and distinguishing by annihilation of their mutual differences.

3. The *category of what is designable and what is designing*, as in the same sentence, (that is this Dévadatta) the relation of the design-

able and the designing refers simply to Dévadatta, in which there is no contradiction, after the contradictory terms of *that* and *this* or their corresponding meanings, being in the past and in the present time, have been dispensed with ; thus also in the great sentence the relation of the designable and the designing, refers simply to the soul, in which there is no contradiction, after the contradictory terms *that* and *thou*, or their corresponding meanings, viz. having the attributes of invisibility and visibility, have been dispensed with.

This category is called the partial designation. In the great sentence the meaning is not consistent,* as it is in the literal meaning of the sentence—the lotus is blue. In this case, as in the term *blue*, the quality of blue, and in the term *lotus*, the thing lotus, exclude other qualities and things, as for instance white, and cloth ; and as the unity of the mutual connexion of predicate and subject, or the unity of the one, determined by the other, are in correspondence with each other, because there is no contradiction from another argument, (in this case) the meaning of the sentence is consistent ; but if you think that, in the great sentence, by excluding the mutual differences of the term *that*, which means the invisible Cháitanya (soul,) and of the term *thou*, which means the visible Cháitanya, the meaning of the sentence does agree, viz. the connexion between predicate and subject, or of the unity of the one, determined by the other, we must maintain, that the meaning of the sentence is not consistent, because it involves the contradiction of the invisibility, &c. Nor is here an omitting designation (ellipsis,) as in the sentence—on the Ganga lives the herdsman, consistent. As there is in this case a perfect contradiction in the meaning of the sentence, which expresses a connexion between the support, and what is to be supported, viz. the Ganga and the herdsman, the ellipsis is called for, because there is a propriety in the designation of the bank of the Ganga, by entirely dispensing with the meaning of the sentence. In the great sentence, however, as there is no contradiction in one part alone of the meaning which shows the unity of the invisible and visible Cháitanya, the ellipsis cannot take place, because another ellipsis would be improper without also dispensing with the other

* The author, after having discussed the three categories of relation, refutes three other forms of relation, which at the first glance may appear to express the meaning of the great sentence.

part. If you say, as the term *Ganga*, by entirely rejecting its own meaning, points to the term *bank*; so also the terms *that* and *thou* by entirely rejecting their literal meaning, point to the terms, *thou* and *that*; why then should the ellipsis be inadmissible: then we must say, you are not right, because in the former sentence, if you did not mention the term of *bank*, its meaning was not known, which therefore required such an ellipsis; but in the latter sentence, by mentioning the terms *that* and *thou*, their meanings are fully known, and consequently there is here no necessity of knowing the meaning of one word by another through the mentioned ellipsis.

Nor is here the case of the not omitting designation admissible,* as in the sentence—*red runs*. The sentence, which speaks of the moving of a quality, is contradictory; but here by not omitting it in the ellipsis of a horse, which is the place of this or other qualities, the contradiction is removed, and the not omitting designation is proper; but in the great sentence, on account of the contradiction in the meaning, which points out the unity of the invisible and visible *Cháitanya*, if you, not dispensing with the invisibility and visibility, refer through the said ellipsis to any other terms, the contradiction is not removed, and therefore this ellipsis cannot take place. But if you say, that the terms *that* and *thou*, by rejecting the contradictory part of their own meanings, point to the terms *that* and *thou*, as united with the other part, and if you continue, why then do you not grant a partial ellipsis by another means? We must say, that this is not proper, because it is impossible to grant an ellipsis for both, viz., for a part of its own meaning and for another term by a single term; and also because the meaning of the terms being known, there is no necessity to know them by an ellipsis.

As therefore the sentence, this is that *Dévadatta*, or its meaning on account of the contradiction in a part of its meaning, which refers to *Dévadatta*, as being in the present and in the past time, by omitting the part which refers to the contradictory terms, being in the present and in the past time, the not contradictory part only, viz. *Dévadatta*, remains; so in the great sentence, *that art thou*, or the meaning of it, on account of the contradiction in a part of its meaning, which

* This term means, that a word retains its literal meaning, while at the same time it points to a term, which is not included in it.

refers to the invisible and visible Chaitanya, by omitting the part which refers to the contradictory terms, having the attributes of invisibility and visibility, refers to the not contradictory part only, viz. Cháitanya (soul.)

The meaning of the great sentence, *I am Bramha*, which was received by internal perception, will now be given.

When the teacher has thus, by means of the improper transferring and of the true abstraction, purified the two terms, *that* and *thou*, and the meaning of the infinite one has been explained by the great sentence, then is produced in the mind of the qualified person the act of the understanding, formed by the form of the infinite Bramha, viz., I am the eternal, pure, omniscient, free, true, self-existent, ever blessed, infinite Bramha, without duality. This act (of the understanding,) together with the (adequate) likeness of the omniscient being, by making the all-pervading, undivided, unknown, supreme Bramha its object, destroys the ignorance with regard to him.

Then as cloth is burned by the burning of the thread, which is the cause of it; so by the destruction of the ignorance, which is the cause of the whole creation, the act of the understanding, formed by the form of the infinite substance, is also destroyed, as included in that creation. As the shine of a lamp is absorbed by the overpowering rays of the sun; so the soul, which is reflected by that act of the understanding, and absorbed by the self-manifesting, all pervading, undivided, supreme Bramha, which it (the understanding) is unable to manifest, (the soul) becomes, since the act of the understanding, which is a part of his qualities, is destroyed, the all-pervading, undivided Bramha, as the face only remains, when the looking-glass, in which it was reflected, has been removed. If this is true, the contradictory statement of the two passages of the Sruti, viz., “by the mind it must be comprehended,” and “what is not perceived by the mind, is reconciled,” because by granting, that the act of the understanding makes Bramha its object, the effect (the manifestation) must be at the same time prohibited. It is also said, to make (Bramha) object of manifestation, is prohibited by the authors of the Shastras. For the destruction of the ignorance respecting Bramha, that act of the understanding is required, and it is not proper that he who manifests himself, is manifested by another.

The particulars of the act of the understanding, formed by the form of the inanimate substances, are as follow. For instance, in the perception of this thing, the act of the understanding, formed by the form of this thing, in making the (this) unknown thing its object, manifests even the inanimate matter, which is this thing, by the manifestation of the knowledge, which that act of the understanding has acquired, after the ignorance with regard to that thing has been removed, as the shine of a lamp in making any thing, concealed by darkness, its object, manifests by its own power (shine) the thing, after the darkness, in which it was concealed, has been removed.

IV. The four means.—The diligent application of the four acts, viz. hearing, attention, of contemplation and meditation, being required, until the perception of the soul, which has no other likeness but with itself, is obtained, they must be here described.

1.—*Hearing* means the fixing of the opinion of the Védántas with regard to the being without duality, by the six modes of determination, which are, the commencement and the end, the practice, the exclusion of other arguments, the final end, the proper speaking, and the demonstration.

a. The commencement and the end is the fixing of any subject, to be explained in a chapter (of the Védánta) in its commencement and end; for instance, in the sixth chapter of the Chandógya Upanishad, the definition of the being without duality, which is to be explained in that chapter, is in the commencement, one even without duality, and in the end, that Bramha, the life of the whole universe.

b. Practice is repeatedly to mention a subject in a chapter, in which it is to be explained; as for instance, in the middle of that chapter (Chandógya) the nine times mentioning of the being without duality by the great sentence, *that art thou*.

c. The exclusion of other arguments is not to demonstrate a subject, to be explained in a chapter, by other proofs, as in that chapter the being without duality is not demonstrated by another proof.

d. Final end is the fruit from the knowledge of Bramha, to be explained in a chapter, or from the practice of that knowledge, as it is mentioned in that chapter, “that the man who has a teacher, knows that he belongs to him, until he is liberated; then he will

be saved." Thus the principal fruit from the knowledge of the infinite being is to gain that end.

e. The proper speaking is the praising of any subject in a chapter, in which it is to be explained ; for instance, it is a praise of the being without duality in that chapter. "O thou (disciple) you asked for such advice, by which that which is never heard, is heard ; that which is never thought, is thought ; and that which is never known, is known.

f. Demonstration is the proper mode of deduction for the attainment of complete understanding of the subject, to be explained in a chapter ; as for instance, in that chapter, "O thou handsome youth, as all things, made of earth, are known by one clod of earth, the difference consists in words only ; the real thing is earth, so the demonstration in that chapter is the proper mode of deduction in the attainment of the complete understanding of the being without duality, that there is no difference but in words."

2.—*Attention* is the constant attending to the being without duality, by those demonstrations, which refer to it in the Védánta.

3.—*Contemplation* is the remaining of the same state of the understanding, formed by the form of the being without duality, with regard to that being, which is not believed to exist in the transient form of a body.

4.—*Meditation* is twofold ; the one in the form of difference, the other without it. Meditation, which has the form of difference, is to place upon the being without duality the act of the mind, formed by the form of it (that being) without removing the difference between him who knows, the object of knowledge, and knowledge itself. As in the perception of an earthen elephant, earth only is actually perceived ; so the being without duality is perceived even in the perception of duality. Thus it is said by philosophers, who maintain, the being, which is like the eye, which is (the support of all) like the ether, which is supreme, which is at once manifest, which is not produced, which is one (without difference in itself and from others) imperishable, in which all differences are annihilated, which is omnipresent and without duality, even this being am I, who is for ever liberated. I am perfect in knowledge, pure, unchangeable ; I am not fettered, I do not require salvation.

The meditation without difference is to place upon the being without duality the same act of the understanding, formed by the form of it (that being) after having removed the differences between him who knows, the object of knowledge, and knowledge itself. As water alone appears by the disappearance of salt, which is formed by the form of water; so appears the being without duality alone by the disappearance of the act of the mind, formed by the form of that being. Still it must not be thought, that there is no distinction between this state and sound sleep: for though in either the same absence of the act of the understanding does occur, yet, from the existence and not existence of that act in either state, the distinction between them is evident. This meditation includes: refraining, religious refraining, sitting in a peculiar posture, suppression of breath, coercion, internal fixing and meditation.

Refraining includes the following acts: refraining from injury, regard for truth, abstaining from stealing, obedience to the spiritual teacher, and not accepting (gifts.)

Religious refraining includes purification, contentment, devotion, reading (of the Védas) and meditation on the Supreme Ruler.

Sitting in a peculiar posture are the different modes of placing the members of the body in a prescribed form, as in the form of a lotus, &c.

Suppression of the breath is the peculiar mode of expiration and inspiration, and of keeping the breath.

Coercion is the refraining of the senses from their objects.

Internal fixing is to fix without intermission the acts of the internal senses upon that being.

Meditation, is here the first one, which has the difference in itself.

There are four obstacles to the perfect meditation without difference: viz. listlessness, absence of mind, passion, and propensity to pleasure.

Listlessness is the sleep of the mind, (caused) by not attending to the being without duality.

Absence of mind is attention to other things by not attending to the being without duality.

Passion is inadvertence to the being without duality, not from listlessness, or absence of mind, but from the act of the understanding, being fettered by the desire of love, or other passions.

Propensity to pleasure is, to enjoy by the act of the mind, no being directed to the being without duality, the pleasure, produced by the meditation, which has its difference in itself, or the enjoyment of pleasure, produced by that meditation at its commencement. When the understanding, free from those four obstacles and immovable like a lamp, protected from the wind, thus becomes the infinite Chaitánya alone, then the meditation is called that without difference. It is said, he will awaken the understanding, sunk in listlessness; he will concentrate it, when lost in absence of mind; he will enlighten it, when blinded by passion; he will not move it, when steadied by austerities; he will not let it taste pleasure; by the consideration (of universal things) it will be without fondness. As a lamp, protected from the wind, &c. &c.

Definition of the living free. The living free is the Bramhanishta (devoted to Bramha) who, after the infinite, self-like Bramha is known, when the ignorance with regard to him is removed by the knowledge of the self-like, infinite, pure Bramha, is free from all worldly fetters, by the destruction of the ignorance and its creation, of the unrewarded works (those works which have not borne their fruit previously to the true knowledge) of doubt, (viz. whether there is a soul different from the body or not) and of other misapprehensions. "When he, the universal soul, has been perceived, then all the conscious acts of the understanding are extinguished, then all doubts are removed, and also his works are annihilated," says the Sruti.

Though he in the time of awaking (the Bramhanishta) by his body, which is like a vessel of flesh, blood, &c., by his senses, which are like vessels of blindness, bluntless and unfitness, and by his mind, which is the vessel for the sensations of hunger, thirst, grief and error, performs the works which are worked by the impulses of his former desires, and enjoys the fruits of his undertakings, which (the fruits) are no obstacles to the true knowledge; still he does not actually perform or enjoy them, since he has destroyed the whole creation of ignorance, as a person, who knows a thing, which he perceives to be an illusion of his senses, does not actually believe in its reality, though he may perceive it. "As one seeing does not see, or hearing does not hear," says the Sruti. It is also said, who in a waking state is like a person fast asleep, who does not perceive, though perceiving, duality, because he is

above duality, who, though acting, does not act, he knows the soul none else; this is certain. As previously to the obtainment of this knowledge he followed the sensations of hunger and other appetites, so he (now) follows (only) the impulses to good works, or there is the same indifference to good and evil actions. It is said, "If he, who knows the reality of the being without duality, can act according to his desire, what difference is then between a dog and him who knows the truth, as regards the taking of impure food. He knows the soul, who has purified the knowledge of Bramha (from ignorance) not another, must be the answer. Humility of mind, the cause of true knowledge, benevolence and other virtues will adorn him like ornaments (in that state.) It is said, he who has gained perfect knowledge of the soul, possesses benevolence and other virtues, without effort on his part; but not he (possesses them without effort) who is striving for the means of salvation. What else can I say? He, who for the maintenance of his body only suffers the happiness and misery, resulting from his works, which are done to accomplish his own desires and aversions, as well as those of others, and brings to light the impulses of his mind, will on the approach of death unite his life with the all-pervading, ever blessed, supreme Bramha; and having thus destroyed the perception of ignorance and of its creation, he will exist as the supreme Bramha, who is perfect salvation, the fountain of all bliss, and free from the signs of every difference. His life is not taken to other places, but to him (Bramha) it is flowing. Free, he is made free; thus says the Sruti.

Note of the Course of Study pursued by Students in the Sanskrit College, Calcutta. By W. SETON KARR, Esq., B. C. S.

The course of study pursued by the students of the Sanskrit College is as follows: they begin by studying *Vyakaranam*, or grammar, for the first three years. The grammar mostly used is one called the *Mugda Bodha*, written in Sanskrit, as those written in Bengali are despised by the Natives. It is a peculiarly native idea, that until a thorough acquaintance with the rules of grammar, as seen theoretically, is obtained, nothing can be done towards acquiring the language by reading other books; no attempt is therefore made to combine the learning of the rules of grammar with the reading of the *Hitopadesa* or other books of an easy style. When, however, they have acquired such a thorough knowledge of grammar as to be able to repeat whole pages of it by heart, they plunge at once into some of the hardest books of the language; the next two years succeeding the three spent on grammar are devoted to reading the following works: the *Bhatti Kavya*, or poem of *Bhatti*, a work made principally to aid the acquisition of grammar, every line being an illustration of some particular rule; the *Raghu Vansa*, the *Kumara Sambhava*, *Naishadha*, *Sisupalabadha*, *Sacotala*, *Veai Sanghara*, *Murari*, *Bharovi*, *Prasanna Raghava*, *Ultara Rama Charitra*, *Raghava Pandavi*, *Vasavadatta*. Several of the above works are known by the name of “*Mahakavya*, or great poems,” a title applied to only six works; those of the above which lay claim to it are the *Raghu-vansa*, *Kumara Sambhava*, *Sisupalabadha*, and *Naishadha*. The next year is devoted to *Alankara*, or rhetoric during which the following works are read: *Sahitva Darpanam*, *Kavyo Prakasha*, and *Chando Mangari*,—all these they *learn off by heart*.

The next year is devoted to the *Vedantas*, or works of later writers, illustrating the scope and objects of several passages in the *Upanishads* of the *Vedas*, relating to an abstract and speculative monotheism. The works read are the *Vedanta Sara*, *Panchdasti*, and *Sharirika-shutra*.

The next year is devoted to *Nyaya*, or logic. Works read, *Bhasha-paricheda* (the division of language) and the *Gautama-sutra*.

The next year is devoted to mathematics. Books, the *Lilavati* and *Bijganita*.

The next three years are devoted to *Smṛiti*, or law. The books read are Manu, the Mitakshara, Daibhaga, Dattika Mimansa, Dattaka Chandrika, Udraha-tattiva, Shuddhi-tattiva, Dayakrama, Sangraha, and Dhaiva-tattiva. *The whole of these last*, with the exception of Manu. are committed to memory ; besides this they are in the habit of learning by heart the greater part of a dictionary, called the Amara-kosha (*immortal treasure*,) which contains the various synonyms of nouns current in the Sanskrit language, which, with regard to remarkable objects, as the sun, the ocean, Brahma, Vishnu, Shiva, a lotus, a serpent, &c. &c. are unusually numerous.

No student can be received after fourteen years of age in the Sanskrit College, and the whole time of study spent there is twelve years !

There are also a number of verses or *slokas* handed down traditionally from father to son, generally expressive of some pithy sentiment. It is pretty certain that they are not to be *found in any book* ; of these, five hundred were known by one individual. Many of the Pandits during the whole of the above course of study have never read the Hetopadesa, one of the most curious books in the language, as being the only one written in prose ; all the immense ocean of Sanskrit literature is in verse—even an unprinted novel, containing the history of an heavenly Apsara, who loved a prince named Chandrapiri, is in verse : the love of the Apsara reminds us of that of Aurora to Tithonus, or Venus to Anchises. The ponderous tomes of the Mahabharata are often *totally neglected* by the Pandits, although that poem is called the "*fifth Veda*," from its sacred character and great antiquity. This poem and that of the Ramayana, which Sir William Jones termed the two epic poems of the Hindus, are thus quite cast out of the circle of the Sanskrit College reading.

As Sanskrit scholars in Europe might feel interest in the above abstract, I publish it as communicated by a member of our Society, W. Seton Karr, Esq. C. S., who originally suggested to me the obtaining a statement of the sort for the Journal.



Memorandum on the Ancient bed of the River Soane and Site of Palibothra. By E. C. RAVENSHAW, Esq., B. C. S., with a Coloured Map.

One of the chief difficulties in identifying Patna as the site of Patalipootra, the capital of Chundragupta, has been the distance which at present exists between the river Soane and the city of Patna. Any satisfactory evidence, therefore, which can be brought to establish the fact that the confluence of the Soane and Ganges in former days took place in the vicinity of Patna, is of importance both in a geographical and historical point of view. Major Rennell, in his "Memoir of a map of Hindoostan," (page 50,) observes, that "Late enquiries made on the spot (about 1787 A. D.) have brought out this interesting discovery, that a very large city which anciently stood on, or very near, the site of Patna, was named Patelpoother (or Pataliputra according to Sir W. Jones,) and that the river Soane, whose confluence with the Ganges is now at Moneah (Muneer), 22* miles above Patna, once joined it under the walls of Patelpoother. This name agrees so well with Palibothra, and the intelligence altogether furnishes such positive kind of proof, that my former conjecture respecting Conoge must fall to the ground." In page 53, he adds, that "The ancient bed of the Soane is yet traceable on the south of Patna, and seems to have led into the Ganges near Futwah."

On accidentally meeting with the above passages in Major Rennell's work, at the time that the Professional Survey of the Patna district was going forward, I requested Lieutenant Maxwell of the Bengal Artillery (the officer in charge of the survey) to endeavour, if possible, to trace out the course of the old bed of the Soane, with a view either to verify or disprove the correctness of Major Rennell's information. Lieutenant Maxwell entered into the enquiry with his usual zeal, and with no other hints than what are contained in the above quotations, was successful in clearly tracing the old bed from a point on the Soane, near Sydabad (about 18 miles above Muneer) viâ Bikrum, Nowbutpoor, Phoolwaree, Meethépoor to Bâkipoort†, where it appears to have

* It is now only 12 miles above the Golah, and 17 above the Western Gate of the old Fort of Patna.

† Called by European Residents, Bankipoor.

joined the Ganges about 200 yards west from the Golah, and nearly opposite the point where the Gunduck falls into the Ganges from the north. I forwarded the sketch map, prepared by Lieutenant Maxwell, to Mr. J. B. Elliott, late of the Civil service, the oldest European resident at Patna, who informed me in reply, that some years ago he had been led, by the perusal of the Drama called "*Mudra Rakshasha*," to make similar enquiries from the natives of the place. The following is a translation of the result of his enquiries, which corresponds very remarkably with the scientific survey: "Formerly the course of the Sone turned eastward from near Sydadab, whence it proceeded by Ghorhutta and Bikrum to Nowbutpoor, thence *viâ* Moorgheea Chuch Mooradpoor, Danapoor, Ghosunda, Koorjee, and Khugwul to Phoolwaree. From the latter town it flowed past Khwajapoor, Sheikhpoor, and Dhukunpoor to Meethapoor; whence in two streams (Jurrah) it fell into the Ganges near Bâkipoor at the Tukeea of Shah Rookun Phulwan. From Phoolwaree a small stream (Sotah) flowed to the eastward, and from opposite Meethapoor, proceeding in a south-easterly direction, it finally united with the Ganges near Futtooha, (Futwa). In the time of Mukhdoom Shah Shuruf Ooddeen Ahmud Yaheea Munéree, (from which a period of upwards of 470 years reckoning to the end of 1251 Hijiree has elapsed,) the main stream of the Sone, taking its course west of the town of Muneer, united with the Ganges near that place, and the eastern course with the Sota became dry."

Lieutenant Maxwell in his first survey was unable to find any trace of the river south of Patna, but the information contained in the above statement regarding the branching off of a Sota, or small stream, from Phoolwaree, enabled him to discover and to follow the bed of the stream to the south of the city by Khémee Chuck and Mirchee, and its exit into the Ganges through the arch of an old bridge, about $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles above Futwa.

The accompanying reduced map on a scale of four miles to the inch, prepared by Lieutenant Maxwell, will I hope be thought satisfactory as being the first ever published, which clearly defines the ancient course of the Soane. After receiving this map I met with the following passage in Buchanan (page 11, volume I, Mr. Martin's edition,) which was written about twenty-three years after Rennell's remark



above quoted. "The Sôn, according to the Bengal atlas, formerly joined the Ganges at Mănér, but a tongue of land has been formed projecting east from the Shahabad district, so that Mănér is now three miles at least above the junction of the two rivers. The Sôn receives no branch during its course in these districts, but sends off some old channels that in different places are called by its name. The chief of these separates from the river 11 or 12 miles above Mănér, runs straight east to the thanah of Vikram, and then bends north until it passes Noubutpoor. Immediately beyond this it sends to the right a branch*, which, running through the whole breadth of the division of Bâkipoor, joins the dry channel of the Ganges, and is called Mohauleya. The main channel of the Măr-Sôn†, soon after the separation of the Mohauleya, divides into two branches, which re-unite before they fall into the Ganges at Danapur‡. That to the west is called Deonar, that to the east Bhadaiya. It must, however, be observed that an old channel may be traced running from this Măr-Sôn, and parallel to the Ganges, a great part of the way to Bâkipur, near the western extremity of the Patna city, and this may have been the old channel of the Sôn; and Patna may, therefore, have been once at the junction of this river with the Ganges."

This account, though differing in some particulars from that of the survey, agrees generally as to the fact of the confluence of the two rivers having been at Bâkipoor near Patna; and this fact corroborated by so many separate investigations made at different times, by different individuals, may therefore be considered as fully established. The alteration in the course of the Soane is supposed to have taken place in the time of Shah Shuruf Oodeen Ahmud Ehya Muneeree, 781 Hije-ree, corresponding with 1379 A. D. The following extract§, from the Memoirs of the Emperor Baber, proves that in the time of that monarch the Soane flowed by Muneer in 1529 A. D., and so far corroborates the tradition of its having changed its course about the end of the fourteenth century. The "Mudra Rakshasa" shows that the

* Buchanan seems here to have been misinformed, and to have alluded to the branch which separates at Phoolwaree, instead of at Noubutpoor.

† "Măr," means dead or dry Soane.

‡ Dinapoor.

§ Page 412, Erskine's Translation.

change had not taken place when that play was written in about the eleventh century. "As they informed me that the Sôn was near at hand, we rode to see it. In the course taken by the river Sôn below this there are a number of trees, which they say lie in Munēr. The tomb of Sheikh Yahéa, the father of Sheikh Shuruf Munēr, is there. As we had come so far, and come so near, I passed the Sôn*, and going two or three *kos* down the river surveyed Munēr. Having walked through its gardens, I perambulated the Mausoleum, and coming to the banks of the Sôn bathed in that river."

Having established the fact that the Soane, in some former age prior to 1529 A. D. united its waters with those of the Ganges in the vicinity of Patna, it is now to be considered how this fact supports the opinion that the capital of Chundragupta was situated at the junction. Sir W. Jones, Major Rennell, Wilson, and Wilford, concur that tradition assigns to this locality the ancient city of Pataliputra. Buchanan, (in page 26, Volume I. Mr. Martin's edition) has the following observation on this point: "I have found in this district (Patna) no traditions concerning Chundragupta, nor his descendants the Boliputras, although Palibothra, his capital, is by Major Rennell supposed to be the same with Pataliputra, or Patna. This city indeed is allowed by the pundits to be called Pataliputra, but Pataliputra has no great resemblance to Palibothra, nor can Patali be rationally considered as a word of the same origin as Pali, said to be an ancient name of this country and of its people and language."

The following extract†, (freely translated) from the Brihud Kutha (or Brihut Kutha,) a work supposed to have been written by Barach (Vararuchi) pundit in the time of Vikrumaditya, king of Oojeen, about 57 B. C. may not be uninteresting, as conveying a popular tradition through the medium of a fiction, which however it must be owned is more suited to the Arabian Nights than to the gravity of history.

"In Kashomunee, a brahmin named Bhoom Deo, had two sons, Kooshun and Bukshun, who married Soomut and Purmut, the two daughters of Surub Siah Mooni. Soomut becoming pregnant, the two husbands reflected that, as they had scarcely means of subsistence

* He probably crossed near the present Ghat or Ferry at Koilwar.

† N. B. I believe this is not literally an extract, but a Potee, or tale, founded on it by one Shunkur Dutt, and called "Patalipootur Pokyan."

sufficient for four persons, they should be reduced to starvation on the appearance of a fifth. They accordingly agreed to set off secretly in the night in search of better fortunes, and leave their wives to take care of themselves. The next morning the wives found that their husbands had deserted them, and wandered about the forest in search of them. It so happened, that Mahadeo and Parbuttee were making an excursion through the air, and the goddess seeing the distress of the two women at the loss of their husbands, entreated Mahadeo to comfort and relieve them. Mahadeo thereupon called to them, and told Soomut that the child, which would shortly be born to her, would prove to be a source of wealth instead of poverty; that whenever he awoke from his sleep 1000 deenars would be found in his sleeve. The celestial visitants then disappeared, and returned to their home at Kylas. Soon after the birth of the child, which was a boy, the anxious mother Soomut discovered, to her amazement, that whenever the boy awoke from his sleep 1000 deenars really appeared shining from under his elbows. She and her sister Purmut, therefore, speedily became rich and went to Casi, where they purchased a large house, and became celebrated all over the country for their munificence and charity. The boy, being called Pootur (or son) by his parents, was afterwards styled Raja Pootur by the people of Casi, on account of his wealth and magnificence. In the mean time Kooshun and Bukshun, the two husbands, who were residing in Karnath (Carnatic) hearing the fame of his charities, proceeded to Casi, and applied to him as mendicants for food and alms. The two ladies recognising their lost husbands, but not being recognised by them owing to the sumptuousness of their dress, placed before them an excellent repast, and inquired, who they were and whence they came? Upon which Kooshun detailed their history as above. Soomut then observed, that there was a remarkable coincidence in their histories, and proceeded to narrate how they had been deserted by their husbands; how Mahadeo had appeared to them; and how her son had been endowed with the wonderful gift, which was the source of their wealth. The husbands then beginning to recognise the features of their wives, the latter threw themselves upon their necks and wept rejoicingly.

“All went on happily for some time, when the husbands grew jealous of the great attention which was paid to Raja Pootur, and con-

ceiving the story of the wealth-giving sleep to be a fiction, invented by their wives to conceal the real source of their wealth, they resolved to remove the youth from their path, thinking that by so doing they would obtain the entire control over the money, which was now squandered by him. On the pretence of its being necessary to the completion of his education and the benefit of his health that he should travel to Bindachul, they sent him, in spite of the remonstrances of their wives, under the charge of eight assassins with instructions to murder him on the road. Arriving in the depths of a gloomy forest, they prepared to execute their commission, but their hearts relenting, they informed Pootur of the real object of the journey, upon which he promised to reward them if they would allow him to sleep for an hour. The assassins retired, and at the end of an hour he brought them 1000 deenars, and gave them a ring from his little finger to show to his father as a proof of their having murdered him. The assassins returned to Casi, and showing the ring obtained their promised reward from Kooshun and Bukshun; but the two wives immediately on seeing the ring of Pootur conjectured his fate, and died on the spot. The wicked husbands were thus reduced again to the poverty from which they had been relieved.

“In the meantime the youth Pootur proceeded on his journey, and presently encountered two Rachases, named Bunkut and Sunkut, sons of Ghurbhaj. They told him, that their father had recently died and left them three wonderful things, which they found it difficult to divide between two, and they accordingly requested the advice of Pootur as to the best method of settling the dispute. The three things were—First, a pair of wooden shoes, which had the virtue of transporting the wearer immediately to any place he might wish to go to. Secondly, a purse, out of which the possessor could draw jewels and precious stones of any kind he desired, *ad libitum*. Thirdly, a staff, which on being erected in any chosen spot, a beautiful city would arise and endure for ever.

“Pootur, in answer to the application of the Rachases, proposed that they should decide the matter by a race, and that whoever first reached a distant point which he indicated, should retain possession of the three prizes. Agreeing to this, and depositing the stakes with Pootur, they set off at full speed. Immediately after their departure, Pootur heard a voice from Heaven, saying, ‘Put on the wooden shoes, fix the purse

to your girdle, take the staff in your hand, and depart for Singhal-deep, (Ceylon).' Pootur acted accordingly, and was out of sight before the Rachases returned from their race.

"On arriving at Singhal-deep, Pootur alighted on the edge of a tank where some women were washing clothes. On seeing so handsome a youth, they declared he must be Kamdeo (the God of Love) himself. On his informing them that his name was Pootur, they declared that August Mooni had prophesied, that Patlee the daughter of the king of Singhal-deep, would marry a person of the name of Pootur, and that he must be destined to fulfil the prophecy. In the meantime Patlee had been prepared for his arrival by Narud, a Mooni, then residing at the palace, who told her that the person destined for her husband would come from Casi.

"At night while Patlee was sleeping among her hand-maidens, Pootur, having put on the magic shoes, appeared at her bed-side, and awakening told her that he was Pootur, who had come from Casi to claim his destined bride. She said, she was willing to attend him ; but must first get her jewels. He replied, that it was unnecessary, as he had only to put his hand in his purse, and he could bring out what jewels he pleased ; in proof of which, he suited the action to the word, and continued drawing forth jewels without end, set in the most beautiful forms. Upon this the lady said she was quite at his disposal ; so he took her by the hand, and thus addressed the Spirit of the Shoe : 'Go to a spot which is north of Gya, east of the Sonebhadur (Soane river), west of the river Poonpoon, and which has the Ganges on the north.' The Spirit of the Shoe accordingly ascended with them into the air, and transported them in the course of one hour to the present site of Patna, where Pootur planted his staff, and a beautiful city arose from the ground ; which, in honor of his wife, he called Patlee-poorā, or Pataleepooturpoora.

"On the morning after the flight of Patlee, Narud informed the king of the event, and consoled him with the reflection that, as it had been predestined, there was no help for it. Narud subsequently paid the happy pair a visit at Patlee-pootra, and informed Pootur that as the two Rachases were dead, he need be under no apprehension as to their enquiry after the three Tûlismans which he had walked off with. He ordered him to keep them for 100 years, and then to go to Kylas (the

heaven of Mahadeo.) The Mooni departed after making five things:

“1st. A tank, called ‘Sham Tulao,’ in which whoever bathed was certain to have children.

“2nd. The Goor Tulao, by bathing in which the sick were cured.

“3rd. The Moonsurwur Tulao, by bathing in which a pregnant woman was sure to have a boy.

“4th. Ram Tulao, by bathing in which the poor become rich.

“5th. Two ‘Sidh Peets,’ the existence of which secures to a city perpetual duration and prosperity.

“Patlee and Pootur lived very happily their 100 years, and then went to Kylas. They left behind them two sons, Koosum and Puttun, and one daughter Putnee, from whom the modern name of the city is said to be derived.”

Moonshee Kunhya Loll, who translated the above story into Oordoo from the Sunscrit, has attempted to identify the site of the four tanks. He maintains with considerable gravity, that the “Jeeuj Pokur” near the Durgah of Shah Arzan, is the Shám Tulao, and that women still bathe in it with the same object. An excavation in the mohulla of Mogulpoora, called “Nalbund ke Gurha,” he holds to be the Goor Tulao. A place called Sheikh Muttee in Chuk Shekarpoor, he considers to be the remains of the Munsurwur Tulao; and the khye, or ditch of Begumpoor, he boldly affirms to be the Ram Tulao. He has not ventured, however, to discover any traces of the two “Sidh Peets.” In the *Mudra Rakshasha*, a Sanscrit Play supposed to have been written about the eleventh century, the principal scenes of which are laid at Patalipootra, the capital of Chundragupta, a passage occurs, which evidently indicates the vicinity of the city to the river Soane. It will be found in Act IV. page 106, of H. H. Wilson’s translation; Molaya Ketu, who is encamped at a distance of five days’ march, thus issues his final orders for the advance of his army to besiege the city and dethrone Chundragupta:—

Then let us march. Our mighty Elephants
Shall drink the *Sone’s* dark waves, and echo back
The roaring of its waters; spread through the groves
That shade its bordering fields intenser gloom;
And faster than the undermining torrent,
Hurl its high banks into the boiling stream;

Then rolling onwards, like a line of clouds,
That girts in rain and thunder Vindya's Peaks,
Environ with portentous storm the City,
And lay its proud Walls level with the ground.

That Patalipootra was not only in the neighbourhood of the Soane but also on the banks of the Ganges, is evident from the following soliloquy uttered by Chundragupta from the terrace of the Sûgânga Palace, at the festival of the autumnal full moon, that is, in the height of the rainy season, when the river is full and rapid in its course.

How beauteous are the skies at this soft season,
'Midst fleecy clouds, like scattered isles of sand
Upon whose breast the white Heron hovers, flows
In dark blue tides the many channelled stream;
And, like the pearly blossoms that unfold
Their petals to the night, the stars expand.
Below is Gunga by the Autumn led,
Fondly impatient, to her Ocean Lord,
Tossing her waves as with offended pride,
And pining fretful at the lengthened way.

In this Play the city of Chundragupta is called by the personages of the Drama by several different names, viz. Pushpapoor, Kasumapoor, "The City of Flowers," and Patalipootra. The first cannot be identified with the name of any place in the neighbourhood. With respect to the second, it may be remarked that in the tradition above given from the Brihuddkutha, the name of one of the sons of Patlee was Koosúm, from which Koosumapoor may not unreasonably be supposed to have been derived. "Koosúm" in Sunscrit means "Flowers," and Koosumapoor, the City of Flowers. There are several names of similar import at present in the vicinity. Phoolwaree, the name of a town situated on the bank of the old bed of the Soane, about six miles from Patna, means "a place of flowers," and one of the muhullas, or divisions of the present city of Patna, is denominated "Goolzar Bagh," which in Persian has nearly the same meaning, and which may have been the Mohamedan translation for Koosumapoor. Indeed it is possible, (though I cannot say it is very probable) that the different names given to the city in the Sunscrit Play, may have been the names of

the different mohallas, or divisions of the old Hindoo city, which have been preserved under altered designations to the present day.

The Grom Deota, or tutelary divinity, is now Putnee Devee, to whom a small temple is dedicated, and to whom worship is still offered. Buchanan remarks, (p. 42, vol. I.) "The Goddess is said to have been placed in her present situation by Patali, daughter of Raja Sudarson, who bestowed the town now called Patna on his daughter, and she cherished the city like a mother, on which account it was called Patali-putra, or the son of Patali." According to the Brihduktha, Putnee was the daughter of Patlee or Patali, but other traditions preserved in the Skunda Pooran, derive the name of Patna from a Sunscrit word meaning "a cloth," the goddess Parbuttee, the wife of Siva, having dropt her mantle on the spot during her flight to Kylas. In the "Pali Buddhistical annals" of Ceylon, translated by the Honorable G. Turnour, (p. 998 vol. VII. of *Journal of Asiatic Society*) Patali is mentioned as having been a mere village in the time of Buddho, (i. e. 541 B. C.) Buddho is said to have rested here on his way to Benares from Rajgeer, the capital of the king of Magadha, whose ministers were then employed in building a citadel for the purpose of checking the inroads of the warlike tribe of Wajjions. Buddho predicted, that the village of Patali was destined to become a great city, and that it was destined to suffer under the calamity of fire, of water, and of treachery.

It is worthy of remark, that in the memoir of the Emperor Baber no mention whatever is made of the city of Patna. The residence of the Put'han rulers of this part of the country seems to have been at the fort or town of Behar. Patna, therefore, must have ceased to be a place of importance prior to the sixteenth century. It appears from the Girnar* inscription, and also from the life of Shokya, extracted from Tibetan authorities (p. 317, vol. XX. *Asiatic Researches*) that Asoka, the grandson of Chundragupta, continued to reside at Patalipootra, but after the extinction of the Maurya dynasty, the capital of the Gangaridæ, and of the Prachya (Prasii), seems to have been transferred to Canoge, which under the Gupta dynasty became a city of great splendour and renown for many ages. This transfer of the seat

* *Asiatic Journal*, Vol. VII. page 268.

of Government was probably the cause of the desertion of Patalipootra, and of the oblivion of the name, except when awakened from time to time by the faint echo of tradition.

The site of the capital of Chundragupta having been fixed by the evidence above adduced, the next step of the argument is to prove the identity of Chundragupta with Sandracottas the king of the Prasii, whose capital was designated Palibothra by Megasthenes, the ambassador of Seleucus Nicator, the immediate successor of Alexander the Great in the kingdom of Bactria. Athenæus, Diodorus Siculus, Quintus Curtius, Plutarch, and other historians, mention Sandracottas as the contemporary of Alexander. Professor Wilson, in his Preface to the *Mudra Rakshasa*, observes that "Athenæus, as first noticed by Wilford (A. R. vol. V. page 262,) and subsequently by Schlegel, writes the name Sandrakoptus, and its other form, although more common, is very possibly a mere error of the transcriber." I may here remark, that the Greek alphabet having no letter which corresponds with "Ch," the Greek historians were obliged to substitute either the X or the σ. Thus *Prachi* (which signifies, according to Wilson, the people of the East) was converted by the Greeks into *Prasii*, and the river Chumbul into *Sumbu*. Diodorus Siculus, on the other hand, changed Chandromas, a synonyme of Chandra* or Chundragupta, into "Xandramas." If on the principle above explained, the initial S be reconverted into "Ch," and the final "S," the usual Greek termination, be struck off, Sandrakoptas will become "Chandrakopta," which bears so striking a resemblance to Chundragupta as to leave little or no doubt of their identity. Professor Wilson has also pointed out the close resemblance between the birth, parentage and history of Sandracottas as described by the Grecian historians, and the account given of Chundragupta in the Vishnoo and Bhugwut Purânas. The similarity of names, supported by the coincidence in the history of the individuals, tends to establish the identity of persons, and no reasonable doubt can therefore be entertained that the Sandracottas of the Greeks was the Chundragupta of the Poorans.

This point conceded, (and it having been shown that Patalipootra was the capital of Chundragupta,) the identity of that city with Pa-

* N. B. He is called by both names indifferently in the *Mudra Rakshasa*.

libothra (stated by Megasthenes, who visited it, to be the capital of Sandracottas,) follows as a necessary consequence.

Here the argument might be said to have terminated, but it may not be uninteresting to advert to some other coincidences, as well as to some discrepancies which have led many learned men to a different conclusion.

Arrian (page 214, Rooke's Translation,) who derived his information from the Journal of Megasthenes, says—

“The capital city of India is Palibothra, in the confines of the Prasii, near the confluence of the two great rivers Erannoboas and Ganges. Erranoboas is reckoned the third river throughout India, and is inferior to none but the Indus and Ganges, into the last of which it discharges its waters. Megasthenes assures us, that the length of this city is eighty furlongs, the breadth fifteen; that it is surrounded with a ditch which takes up six acres* of ground, and is thirty cubits deep; that the walls are adorned with 570 towers and 64 gates.”

The general resemblance in sound between Palibothra and Patalipootra is obvious, and would be more striking if we consider that the conversion of the Greek letter θ into “th” is an anglicism, and that the French and other foreigners do not admit the pronunciation. The Greek word $\pi α λ ι β ο θ ρ α$ would therefore be rendered Palibothra, and the “b” and “p” being convertible letters, we have Palipotra. But Buchanan has remarked that Pâtali and Pali are by no means identical, the former having a distinct meaning. Pâtali Devée signifies the “Thin Goddess,” whereas Pali was the name of a king, a people and a language. Wilford (p. 36, vol. IX. Asiatic Researches) says, “We are informed in the Bhagavata, that king Maha Nanda assumed the title of Bali and Maha Bali, consequently his offspring who ruled after him for a long time were Baliputras: the kingdom of Mogadha was called the kingdom of Bali, Pâli and Poli. The city in which the Bali, or Paliputras resided was of course denominated from them ‘Baliputra,’ or ‘Paliputra;’ and by the Greeks ‘Palibothra,’ and in the Pentingerion Tables, ‘Palipotra.’” In page 38, he adds, “According to Ptolemy, the country of the Baliputras extended

* N. B. This is a mis-translation for 600 feet broad, $\tau \acute{o} \epsilon \nu \rho \omicron \sigma \epsilon \xi \acute{\alpha} \pi \lambda \epsilon \theta \rho \omicron \nu$.

from the Soane to beyond Moorshedabad as far as Rungāmatty." It seems evident, therefore, either that the Greeks confounded the name of the City with that of the Dynasty, or that the discrepancy in the name may be ascribed to the error of copyists of the Greek MSS. at a time when printing was unknown. Indeed the discrepancies in the spelling of Oriental names at the present day are quite as great, without the excuse afforded to the Greeks by successive copies of MSS. Moongeer is invariably spelt in our maps and in public correspondence, Monghyr; Khanpoor or Khanpur, is spelt Cawnpoor; Chandanugur, Chandernagore; Singhalpetta, Chingleput; and Mundirraj, Madras; Dihlee is variously spelt Dilli, Dehly. The right pronunciation of Patna itself is P'ut'na; of Bankipore, Bâkipoor; and of Dinapoor, Dānāpoor. The instances of such corruptions are innumerable, and will readily occur to all residents in India.

In the above quotation from Arrian, Palibothra is said to have been situated near the confluence of the Erranoboas and the Ganges. Sir W. Jones, in his Tenth Discourse, has shown that Hirunyabâhoo, or Erranoboas, was a synonyme* of the Soane. Thus the argument for the identity of the cities of Patalipootra and Palibothra is materially strengthened.

The chief objection which has been urged by Wilford, Colonel Franklin, and others against the argument is, I believe†, founded on the statement of Pliny, that Palibothra was situated 425 Roman miles below the confluence of the Jumna and Ganges, which taking the Roman mile

* N. B. All the principal rivers of India have a number of synonymes. The Ganges has, I am told, 100, which are chanted in Sanscrit verse.

A Pundit has just informed me, in reply to a question whether the Soane had any other name in Sanscrit, that it was called Hirunyabâhoo in the "Amur-kosh." I do not know whether this is the work alluded to by Sir W. Jones as being 2000 years old. The names of the Jumna, the Pundit told me, were Kalindi, Soorujtunia, Jumna, and Sumunasoosa.

† Since writing the above I have met with Colonel Franklin's work. His argument is founded upon some coincidences in names which appear to be more plausible than conclusive.

1st. He quotes an extract from the Ootur Poorana, to show that the original name of a small river, now called Chundun, which unites with the Ganges west of Bhau-gulpoor, was "Errun Bhowuh," or Forest-barn. He considers this to be the Errunoboas of the Greeks. This petty stream has scarcely a drop of water in it for six months in the year, and in Arrowsmith's Map, on a scale of 30 miles to an inch, it is hardly distinguishable. To reconcile this fact with the description of Magathenes that "the Errunoboas was the third of Indian rivers," Colonel Franklin has construed the text to mean "a river of the third magnitude." Then putting

at the usually recognised length of 1666 yards*, would give about 402 English miles below Allahabad†, and 175 miles below Patna; Bhaugulpoor is only 364 English miles below Allahabad, while Rajmahl is 436; so that the proper site of Palibothra, according to this calculation, would be about half way between the two latter stations. Rennell, in his "Memoir of the Map of Hindoostan," has shown, however, that the Roman mile and Greek stadia varied so much that it is impossible to say what was the real length of the Roman mile given in Pliny's Itinerary. The following are the distances as given by Pliny.

	Roman Miles.		
Taxila on the Indus to the Hydaspes, (Jelum,)	120
From Hydaspes to the Hyphasis, (Beyah,)	390
,, Hyphasis to Hysudrus, (Sutledge,)	168
,, Hysudrus to Jomones, (Jumna,)	168
,, Jomones to Ganges,	112
,, Ganges to Rhodopa.	119
,, Rhodopa to Calinipoxa, (a City,)	167
Carried over,	1244

the Indus, Ganges, and Burumpootur in the first class; the Soane, Nerbudda, &c. in the second; he places the Chundun in the third. The Greek text however is simply

ὁ δὲ ἑρρανοβοας τρίτος μὲν ἂν εἴη τῶν. Ἵνδῶν ποταμῶν.

2nd. He next quotes extracts from the Voyu, Hari Vunsa, Markunda and Ootur Puranas, which go to show merely that Bali, the son of Blooput, hegat a son called Balipootra, who was Rajah of Aungdes, that his capital (ninety-six miles by thirty-six in extent) was Balini, which however was usually called Chumpapooree. Colonel Franklin says, (I do not know on what authority) that Chumpapooree is the Chumpanugar of the present day, a village four miles west of Bhaugulpoor; but supposing this to be so, it does not follow that Chumpapooree was ever called Palibothra. It is probable, that this Bali (who in another part of the extract is said to have had three sons "Aung, Bang and Culing," and all of whom were doubtless called Balipootras, or sons of Bali) lived long antecedent to the time of Nanda the king of Magadha, who, according to Wilford, assumed the title of Bali, and from whom Chundragupta and his descendants derived the title of Balipootras. It is very possible, that the original Bali may have dwelt at Balini, or Chumpapooree, in the vicinity of Bhaugulpoor; but this circumstance would afford no proof that the capital of Chundragupta was also situated on that spot.

3rd. Colonel Franklin states, (page 19) that in several Hindoo works Palibothra is mentioned as situated in the vicinity of hills; but he has omitted to give a single passage containing a fact so very important to his argument. It does not seem necessary to discuss the minor points of Colonel Franklin's work.

* Adams' Roman Antiquities.

† By the Post-office Tahles, it is, 227 E. miles from Allahabad to Patna.

Roman Miles.

							Brought forward, 1244
To the conflux of Jomones and Ganges,	..	..	..	..	..	..	225
To Palibothra, .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	..	425
To the mouth of the Ganges, .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	..	638
							<hr/>
						* Total,	.. 2532
							<hr/>

* N. B.—The total is not added up in Pliny.

These distances are said to have been measured along the high road, but as they cannot be made to correspond with the distances by the present high road from the Indus to the Ganges, it is evident either that some error as to the figures has crept into the MSS. or (which is by no means improbable) that the high road 2000 years ago took a very different course from the high road at present. Rennell, in order to ascertain the length of the Roman mile assumed by Pliny, measured on the map along the line of the great road from the Hyphasis (Beyah) to the mouth of the Ganges, and finding this to be 1140 G. miles while the Itinerary gave 2022 Roman miles, he concluded that the proportion of one of Pliny's miles to a Greek mile was as 56 to 100 in horizontal distance, or 7-10ths. of an English mile in road distance. Agreeable to this mode of computation, he found Patna to be only 345 of Pliny's miles below Allahabad instead of 425, as stated in the Itinerary. This difference of 80 of Pliny's miles, or 44 Greek miles, he did not consider of much importance, as owing to the great changes in the course of Indian rivers, it was by no means certain that in former times the confluence of the Jumna and Ganges took place at Allahabad as now.

The mode of computation adopted by Rennell is not altogether free from objection. First, he has omitted to give the stages of the high road along which he measured the distance. Secondly, which mouth of the Ganges he assumed as the eastern limit. Thirdly, the precise point which he considered to be at the mouth of the Ganges. It is also to be considered that whatever point may have been assumed by Major Rennell as the mouth of the Ganges, it is in the highest degree improbable that the same point was situated at the mouth of the Ganges 2000 years ago. The progress of the Deltas of all rivers, though slow, is sure: Herodotus (Euterpe, p. 4) says that, " In the

time of Menes (*2320 B. C.) the first king, the whole of Egypt, except the province of Thebes was one extended marsh. No part of all that district which is now situate beyond the lake of Mæris was then to be seen, the distance between which lake and the sea is a journey of seven days." In para. 13 he adds, "In the reign of Mæris as soon as the river rose to eight cubits, all the lands above Memphis were overflowed; since which a period of about 900 years has elapsed: but at present, (about 460 B. C.) unless the river rises to sixteen or at least fifteen cubits, its waters do not reach those lands." During the boring in Fort William with a view of making an Artesian well, a fossil bone was brought up from a depth of 350 feet† below Calcutta, which evidently proves that that part of the Delta is (geologically speaking) a comparatively modern accumulation of alluvial deposits, and it is not impossible that Calcutta itself may at that period have been not far distant from the mouth, or one of the mouths, of the Ganges. According to the Mosaic account, or rather the ecclesiastical interpretation of it, the world is not yet 6000 years old. If therefore it has taken 6000 years to form the Valley and Delta of the Ganges, it may be assumed that it must have taken 2000 years to form a third of that deposit. The exact point at which the Ganges flowed into the ocean at the period of creation is a geological nut, which I would deferentially submit to be cracked by Dr. Buckland, or Mr. Lyell. Geology, however, has unfortunately proved that the Mosaic chronology refers to the creation of man, and not to that of the globe. The age of the latter seems to correspond more nearly with the endless Yugs of the Vedas and Poorâns, than with the more limited traditions of the Pentateuch and Talmud.

Although Rennell's estimate of the Roman mile is open to the above criticism, we may fall back upon that of D'Anville, a geographer cele-

* This date is taken from Wilkinson's Egypt.

† See Vol. vi, page 236, Journal of Asiatic Society; also vol. 11, page 650.

The rise of the land according to the calculation of Herodotus, would be one foot and four inches, (1 f. 4 i.) in a century. In 1702 A. D. the favorable height of the Nile was 23 cubits, (being an increase of 7 cubits, or $10\frac{1}{2}$ feet), in about 2162 years, (1702 + 460) or 5 inches and 8-10ths in a century. Taking the mean between 1 f. 4 i. and 5 inches $\frac{8}{10}$, viz. 11 inches as the average rate per century, and supposing the rise of the Ganges to have been at a similar rate, a period of 38,181 years would be required to fill up the 350 feet of sand, and alluvial soil below Calcutta; but it is probable that the rise was much more rapid prior to the reign of Mæris, i. e. 3062 years ago, (900 + 2162) than subsequent to that date—at even 2 feet to the century however, it would require 17,560 years!

brated for an accuracy in details, which was praised by Sir W. Jones, and which even Gibbon* said he was afraid to dispute. Rennell observes in a note, "D'Anville is of opinion that Pliny turned the Greek stadia, (of Megasthenes) into Roman miles at the rate of eight to a mile, and thus accounts for their shortness. D'Anville, who has gone deeply into the subject, thinks that it requires 1050 Itinerary stadia to make a degree of the great circle." Now a degree of the great circle being equal to 60 geographical, or 69 English miles, 425 of Pliny's miles, or 3400 Greek stadia, would be equivalent to 223 E. miles, which is only four miles less than the real distance from Allahabad to the Golah at Patna, as given in the Polymetrical Tables of the General Post Office. So that if the estimate of the Greek stadia given by the most accurate of geographers be adopted, the difficulty of reconciling the distance given by Pliny with the site of Patna is altogether removed.

Beyond the evidence of history and tradition, however, little or nothing remains to indicate Patna to have been the site of an ancient city. It is probable that a great part of the original city has been swallowed up by the Ganges. In a map lately constructed by the Revenue Survey, and from decrees of the Civil Courts, it appears that the main stream of the Ganges even so late as the Permanent Settlement, or 1790 A. D. was several miles north of its present course. The river is gradually wearing away the southern bank, and the modern city is likely to share the fate of the old.

In point of extent the modern town, including the suburbs, does not fall very far short of that of the ancient. Megasthenes states Palibothra to have been ten miles† long, and about two broad, surrounded with a ditch, and walls adorned with 570 towers and gates. The length of the present town from the Golah at Patna on the west to Jafir Khan's garden on the east, is about the same length; but the breadth cannot exceed a mile. It is just possible that the "Sotah," or bed of a small stream, exhibited in the map as running south of Patna from Phoolwaree to near Futwa, may have been the ancient ditch of Palibothra, as it does not appear to have been ever the main stream of the Soane. Of the gates and towers no traces remain. There are, however, some high artificial eminences composed of brick-work, called "Punj Puhâree," or five hills, about a mile or two south of the town, which may be the ruins of bastions or towers. There are likewise some

* Miscellaneous Works.

† Calculated on D'Anville's principle, it would be much less.

other singular elevations in different parts of the town or neighbourhood, evidently composed of the ruins of buildings of considerable magnitude. One near the Durgah of Shah Arzān, another at Bikna Puhāree, on which a large European house has been built, another near what is called the Dutchman's house, and a fourth at Chujjoo Bagh, on which the house I reside in is situated. It must be admitted, however, that tradition does not agree in assigning such an origin to these elevations. As the southern bank of the Ganges gradually gives way to the undermining power of the current, several old brick wells, long since closed and built over, have been discovered, and in the rainy season many ancient Hindoo coins gold, silver, and copper are found. Gold ones of the Gupta or Canoge series, and Boodhist coins of cast silver and copper are the most common.

It is not, however, a matter of surprize, that the waves of time should have obliterated what those of the Ganges may have spared, in a country where the destructive power of vegetation is so great and rapid.

In 2000 years how many cities, empires, and even religions, have passed away ! Of Babylon, Susa, Ecbatana, and Persepolis, cities cotemporary with Palibothra, scarce a stone remains to mark their site to the puzzled antiquary. " Assyria, Greece, Rome, Carthage, what are they."*

The empires of Montezuma and the Incas have likewise risen, flourished, and disappeared within that period. The religions of Zo-roaster, Osiris, Jupiter, and Odin, have been superseded by that of the Crescent or of the Cross. When cotemporary cities have perished, and cotemporary empires have decayed, there is little room for wonder that nothing should remain of the capital of Chundragupta save a few mouldering heaps.

Tempus edax rerum ! tuque in vidiosa Vetustas,
Omnia destruitis ; vitiataque dentibus ævi,
Paulatim, lenté, consumitis omnia morte.

Omnivorous Time ! and thou invidious Age,
Consumest all things in thy wanton rage.
Worn, day by day, by Time's remorseless teeth,
Man and his works at last must sink in death.

E. C. R.

Proceedings of the Asiatic Society for the month of FEBRUARY, 1845.

The Monthly Meeting of the Society was held at the Rooms, on Tuesday evening, the 25th of February, at half-past seven P. M. S. G. T. Heatly, Esq., in the chair.

The following report was read by the Secretary, being that of the preliminary Meeting of the Committee of Papers for the despatch of business.

Secretary's Memorandum for the Meeting of 25th February, 1845.

An Oordoo novel, by Mr. J. Corcoran, written to exemplify the capacity and power of that elegant Vernacular language, and on which I was enabled to report favourably, philologically speaking, is recommended by the Committee of Papers to the patronage of the Society, by a subscription for fifteen copies, at four rupees twelve annas each. The Committee will examine further as to whether this work is worthy, on the whole, of being recommended as a school-book, for which its author intended it.

Resolved—That fifteen copies should be subscribed for, and the work further examined.

I have received and laid before the Committee a valuable suggestion by that eminent Oriental scholar, Dr. A. Sprenger, for the commencement of the publication of a Bibliotheca Asiatica, or a series of standard works in Eastern languages, edited and translated under the superintendence, and at the cost, of the Society. This useful undertaking, projected nearly forty years ago, is now revived; and as the Committee are in a position to assure the Society that they can command copious and valuable material for its commencement, they strongly recommend to the Society that the proposition be entertained, and that they be empowered to direct their attention to the subject, and report as early as they can what measure can be taken in furtherance of the undertaking.

Ordered—That the further report of the Committee be awaited, the Society acknowledging the expediency of the suggestion, and thanking Dr. Sprenger for it.

A letter from Government having been received, with copies of communications from Capt. Marshall, Secretary to the Sanscrit College, and a Mussulman printer by name Abdoolla, sometimes called Molvee Abdoolla, well known to the Society, respecting the printing of the *Musnuvee Roomee*, I have been instructed to submit a note on the subject to the Committee, as the opinion of the Society is requested by Government as to the proposed printing of the work which had already, as noted by me, been suggested to us. A detailed report will be made at our next Meeting.

Resolved—That the report be received, and discussed at the next Meeting.

I am directed to state to the Society, that the Committee of Papers have recorded an opinion as to the hour of meeting of the Society, not in consonance with the note of the meeting before last. It was then decided, that the hour should be half-past Seven; the large majority of the Committee incline decidedly to the old hour of half-past Eight P. M. The opinion of these gentlemen necessarily carries so much weight with it, that the minority desire the question to be re-submitted for your consideration.

Resolved—That the next Meeting be held at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 8, experimentally, and the question then be considered open for discussion.

A letter from Mr. Ince, Superintendent of Salt Chokees, on some of the salt springs in the Chittagong district, to my address, has been referred, with the thanks of the Committee, to our Geological Curator.

A set of lithographs of some of the Cave Temples of the Dukhan, by James Fergusson, Esq., presented by his brother, W. Fergusson, Esq., have been duly received, and the handsome donation richly merits your thanks.

A letter from Captain Crommelin, with note of despatch of Geological specimens from Darjeeling.

A letter from Mr. A. Campbell of Darjeeling, forwarding an interesting account of a new Thibetan antelope, with remarks on the Zoology of Thibet.

Reports from Government respecting the recent supposed Sub-marine Volcano on the coast of Arracan, in reply to our letter, suggesting enquiry on this subject.

Valuable geological notes across the Peninsula of India, by Capt. Newbold of the Madras Army, have been referred to the Geological Curator, and ultimately held available for our Journal.

Observations on the rate of evaporation in the open sea, with notice of an instrument used in indicating its amount, by J. W. Laidley, Esq.

A memorandum on the old bed of the river Soane and site of Palibothra, by S. C. Ravenshaw, Esq. C. S., has been received by me, and will be held available for the Journal, the thanks of the Society being due to its author.

For the above, the thanks of the Society were voted.

We have received a gratifying letter from the Honorable Secretary to the Royal University of Christiana, acknowledging the receipt of some of our contributions, advising us of the proximate despatch of various objects for our Museum, and couched in terms expressive of the satisfaction of that learned body at finding itself in that constant communication with us, which it will be not less to our credit than to our advantage to foster and encourage to the best of our ability.

I have also to submit the epitaph to be placed on the tomb of our lamented friend, Csomo De Korosi, as approved by the Committee.

H. J.

ALEXANDER CSOMA DE KOROSI,

A NATIVE OF HUNGARY,

WHO, TO FOLLOW OUT PHILOLOGICAL RESEARCHES,

RESORTED TO THE EAST,

AND AFTER YEARS PASSED UNDER

PRIVATIONS, SUCH AS HAVE BEEN SELDOM ENDURED,

AND PATIENT LABOUR IN THE CAUSE OF SCIENCE,

COMPILED

A DICTIONARY AND GRAMMAR OF THE THIBETAN LANGUAGE,

HIS BEST AND REAL MONUMENT.

ON HIS ROAD TO H'LESSA TO RESUME HIS LABOURS

HE DIED AT THIS PLACE

ON THE 11TH APRIL, 1842.

AGED 44 YEARS.

HIS FELLOW LABOURERS,

THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL,

INSCRIBE THIS TABLET TO HIS MEMORY.

REQUIESCAT IN PACE.

J. Weaver, Sculpt. Calcutta.

The slab with this inscription has been despatched to Darjeeling, to our fellow labourer and associate, Dr. Campbell, Superintendent at that station.

The two following letters from Mons. Eugene Burnouf, of the Asiatic Society of Paris, and from Count Scopoli, Secretary to the Academy of Verona, have received the attention they merit in due course; Mr. Heatly having charged himself with obtaining the eggs of the *Phalena* required by the latter Society.

H. TORRENS,

V. P. and Secy. As. Soc.

NOTE.—The following letter from Lieut.-Col. Ouseley, I publish at his desire, clearing up a mistake which would seem to have occurred respecting the survey of the Nerbudda river, published in a recent number of the Society's Journal. I need only add, that Lieut.-Col. Ouseley, has placed the remainder of the map at the disposal of the Society, and that it will be lithographed for speedy publication.

H. TORRENS,

V. P. and Secy. As. Soc.

MY DEAR SIR,—I observe in No. CLI. of the Journal, a map of the Nerbudda, forwarded with Mr. A. Shakespear's letter. I find that Mr. Shakespear has remarked in a note, page 497, "The original survey is not to be found on record, Capt. Ouseley appears only to have submitted the result of it with his opinions."

This is written without reference to the map itself, which is actually that done by me, (from the Devnaguree original) every word of which is written in my own hand, and certified by me in the map, which is reduced, as mentioned by the lithographer, to one-fourth.

As I had a great deal of trouble in making it, it gives me much pleasure to see it where it is. The survey, at considerable expense to the Government, was only sanctioned by Lord William Bentinck on my repeated representation.

I have the original sketch, and the only copy I made for the Government is that from which Mr. Smith reduced the one now presented to the public. I mean to have it lithographed over again, as the most valuable part is left out, and the eastern course of the river beyond Babye, that part on which the coal and iron mines are situated, which minerals will I trust be the means of creating the most surprising and beneficial changes in the country, in supplying material for a grand trunk rail line across India.

May I request the favor of your giving this letter a place in the next Journal.

I am, my dear Sir,

Yours very faithfully,

Calcutta, 22nd February, 1845.

J. R. OUSELEY.

To the Vice President and Secretary of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, at Calcutta.

SIR,—I have had the honor of receiving your letter, dated the 13th August, this year, and I think it my duty to lose no time in answering the same. It is about a fortnight since the Royal University of this town received two boxes of tinned iron, containing a collection of ornithological preparations and other objects of Natural History, some Indian coins, and a catalogue of books and manuscripts in the Indian languages, belonging to the Asiatic Society. We have also in July last, received a parcel with seeds, like another which arrived about a year ago. The *Senatus Academicus* has

resolved with respect to these different presents, to return its best thanks in a letter to the learned Society, and to accompany the same with a collection of different objects belonging to the Natural History of these northern countries, viz. zoological preparations, plants, minerals and seeds, as also with a collection of books, being a continuation of the works already sent. These things, the arrangement of which has been left to the care of the undersigned, are partly ready to be sent; what is still wanting will be collected during the next winter, and sent off with the first opportunity in March 1845.

The University at Christiania looks upon the existing scientific intercourse with the honored Society, as very interesting to both institutions, and will do any thing in its power to continue the same. The University Council, or *Senatus Academicus*, will also declare this in its above-mentioned letter, but I have thought it right to mention it in this preliminary notification. Books or any other things than the above-mentioned have not been received from your Society; as soon as any thing arrives, I shall have the pleasure of announcing it.

Sir Charles Tottie, the Norwegian, and Swedish Consul General at London, will forward any box or parcel for the University of Norway, directed to his care. Captain Bowne of the Norwegian Navy at Rungpore, to whom we are indebted for the existing intercourse between the two institutions, has also always shown the greatest willingness in forwarding scientific objects to this University. In conclusion I have also to state, that your letter, dated 20th May last, (which arrived at the end of last month,) has been communicated to all the professors whom it concerns.

Sir, your obedient servant,

C. HOLST,

Secretary of the Royal University at Christiania.

Christiania, the 24th October, 1844.

M. H. PIDDINGTON, *Secrétaire adjoint de la Société Asiatique du Bengale.*

Monsieur.—Le départ de Mr. Mohl, notre Secrétaire du Conseil m'a laissé le soin de vous remercier au nom de la Société de la peine que vous avez bien voulu prendre de nous informer de la mort si regrettable du savant Ramcomul Sen. Il sera bien regretté de la Société qui savait les services qu'il a rendus aux lettres et à la civilisation en général en composant son excellent dictionnaire Anglais et Bengali. C'est aussi pour nous une perte, parceque nous pourrions difficilement retrouver un correspondant aussi instruit et aussi zélé.

Mr. Mohl, à son prochain retour, doit s'entretenir avec vous de cet objet, et il vous rendra compte de la vente des Livres de votre Société que nous avons placés à Paris.

Excusez la forme un peu courte de cette lettre. Ignorant exactement le nom et les titres de Hurremohun Sen, que nous n'avons pu bien lire, j'ai cru pouvoir inclure la lettre que nous lui adressons dans ce court billet. Je vous serais bien reconnaissant d'y faire mettre son adresse exacte.

Votre bien dévoué serviteur,

24 October, 1844.

Eugl. BURNOUR.

A la Société Asiatique, Calcutta.

Les remarques faites par M. M. Helfer et Ugon sur les phalènes, dont aux Indes on tire la soie, ont excité l'attention de cette académie, et le plus vif desir d'avoir des oeufs de l'espèce *Cynthia*, puisqu'on cultive ici le *Ricinus* dont les feuilles nourrissent ses

vers producteurs, c'est vrai, d'un tissu soierie qui n'est pas fin, mais qui peut être utile à certaines manufactures. L'éducation ailleurs de ces vers se ferait dans notre province dans un tems presque tout à fait libre d'autres travaux agricoles. C'est pourtant à la Société Asiatique qu'on ose s'adresser pour avoir les nouveaux œufs, et on espère qu'elle accueillera cette prière avec le même intérêt, qu'elle donne aux progrès des sciences dans les vastes établissements Britanniques, en Asie, qu'elle nous fait connaître sous tous les rapports. L'amour du savoir, et le noble plaisir des répandre les connaissances utiles, rapprochent les plus grandes distances, et font une seule famille parmi ceux qui sont capables de viser à l'un et de goûter l'autre. Si jamais cette académie pouvait être honorée de quelque commission par une Société dont elle reconnaît la supériorité, elle en serait non seulement reconnaissante mais orgueilleuse.

Le Secrétaire perpétuel,

Jean Comte Scopoli ; Jadis Conseiller d'état,
et directeur général de l'instruction publique,
dans le Royaume d'Italie.

Véronne, le 10 Aout, 1838.

Read the following—

REPORT OF THE CURATOR, MUSEUM OF ECONOMIC GEOLOGY, AND GEOLOGICAL AND
MINERALOGICAL DEPARTMENTS, FOR THE MONTH OF JANUARY, 1845.

Captain J. H. Low, B. N. I., has presented us with some fine specimens of lava and capillary obsidian, and some of sulphur from the Mineralogical and Geological. volcano of Killauea* in the Island of Hawaii, and some volcanic specimens from Manilla: his letter is as follows:—

H. PIDDINGTON, Esq.

MY DEAR SIR,—I beg to present to the Asiatic Society the following specimens brought from the grand volcano of Killauea in the Island of Hawaii, four pieces of lava, six pieces of sulphur, and some capillary glass; also two *tapas* or native cloths, and a skull of some animal which I picked up at the spot where the bones of the celebrated navigator Capt. Cook were buried, being about one mile from the spot where he was killed. Should you wish for it, I can send you some specimens collected by me at the volcano, in the lake de Taal de Bonbon, in Luconia, about 50 miles from Manilla. It may be interesting, sending a small bit of the rock on which Cook fell at Korakaruah Bay, which I broke off. Had you not access to better information relating to the Sandwich Islands than I could give, I should be happy to give my mite.

No. 5, Garstin's Buildings, 16th January.

J. H. Low.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have the pleasure to send you some specimens from Manilla, or rather the large piece I picked up in an extinct crater, which is at present a small lake, close on the margin of the great lake in Luconia. The spot on which I picked up this specimen, is a lake evidently filled from the great lake; it occupies the sunken summit of the hill, densely clothed with timber, only one mile from the hot bath, which I found on keeping the Therm. for sometime in it to rise to 170° Faht.

The smaller specimens I collected at the volcano in the Island in the lake de Taal de Bonbon. The ignorance of the people in Manilla was such that they wanted to

* Killauea in MSS. No doubt Kirauea of Mr. Ellis and other travellers.—H. P.

persuade me the Island had been formed within fifty years, and was only of mud, I picked up these specimens. Although within 60 miles of Manilla, such is the information to be obtained there. I send you also a bonnet from the Sandwich Islands, such as worn by the native ladies there, and made by them.

J. H. Low.

The following Diary accompanies the specimens referred to in it, from the Hot Springs of Chittagong.

MY DEAR MR. TORRENS,—I will now endeavour to give you some account of my travels, but fear it will prove but an imperfect one. On the 9th of this month I reached Seetakood, where I began my inquiries about the springs, and the next day visited the nearest. I left my tent a little after 11 A. M., and was soon obliged to leave my palkee behind. A walk of little more than half an hour over the bed of what must be an awful torrent during the rains, brought me to the spring; it is raised a little above the bed of a small nullah, which branches off from the torrent bed: the spring is about eight feet by six, and not more than a foot and a half deep; in three or four places the water rises in small bubbles: it is quite cold and beautifully clear; it is nearly double the strength of common sea-water. The great drawback is the difficulty of approach. The spring has no particular name, but is known by the Pergunnah in which it is situated—Pantaseelah; beyond it and in a continuation of the road I went, (if it can be so called) is the Doburrea or Dobie Kedallah or Pass, which goes direct through the hills and is said to have been cut by a Dobie. I struck off from the main road at a village called Yakoobnuggur. I believe, I am the first European who has ever visited this spring.

On the 11th I went on to near Jeygopal's *hauth*, and then left the main road, from which in about half an hour I reached the famous spring called Nabboo Luckee, the distance being about two miles, rather more. This road is generally good, but over the torrent bed, which is much the same as the other; the rush of water must however be greater in the rains, and during that season the people who attend at the spring are obliged to make use of a narrow foot path over the hills; it is situated on a rising ground of about 8 or 10 feet above the bed of the stream, a temple is erected over it, and I had to descend about half a dozen steps. The pukka part round the spring is about three feet square, and not more than three feet deep; on the right hand side is a small place raised about a foot and a half above the other parts, but communicating with the spring, and from the hole marked A, in my sketch, a flame issues, which is constantly fed with *ghee*; conceiving that there might be some tricking I made them put the light to the hole marked B, when a beautiful blue flame issued, such as would not have been caused by *ghee* alone; on the left hand is a spout, which goes through the temple wall into the spring, and through which is a constant flow of the water; within the spring is a sound resembling the *growl of a dog*, repeated about every second, when a large bubble rises to the surface, and bursts a few yards to the left; and a little above the bed of the torrent is another spring, called Duddee Koond, bubbling up in the same manner as the first I saw; the water of the three is of the same strength. On the 14th, I set off to visit Soorjoo Koond, but there was so much uncertainty about the distance and exact spot, that I was induced to try the strength of the water about half a mile from the main road, and found it about one-third less in strength than the other springs. I then went to the one considered by the natives as the *most holy*; it

is called Boollooa Koond. The greater part of the road is excellent, being cut from the side of the hills; the spot on which the spring is situated is considerably elevated above the plain, but the ascent is very gradual, the hills are thickly covered with jungle, amongst which appears the wild plantain. On arriving at the foot of the spring, I had to mount some twenty steps; at the top were several temples, the principal one covering the spring, which they told me was fathomless. A small place is raised at the side, the same as at Nubboo Luckee, from which issues a flame well fed with ghee; through the lower hole opening from the surface of the spring, a flame is constantly coming out and running a short distance on the water, but goes out again immediately. I have no doubt the ghee has something to do with it; the water is fresh with a slight sulphurous smell and taste; but to enable you to form a better idea of it than I can give, I send by my friend Major Troup, two small boxes to your address, one containing three bottles of water from the Nubboo Luckee and Boollooa Koond, and one taken up about half a mile from the main road, and which is said to come from Soorjoo Koond, and other springs, both salt and sweet; but I was afraid to remain out any longer, lest I might lose my travelling allowance, and I could not afford that. The other box contains large and small pebbles, a kind of unformed slate, and some gravelly earth taken from the bed of the torrent, and a small piece of coal which I picked up on the edge of the stream running from the Soorjoo Koond; a small bottle of Kurkutch from the Soorjoo Koond water, and some salt which I can hardly venture to call *pangah*, it was from the Nubboo Luckee water filtered through some salt earth I brought from the spring; I must leave you to decide what it is.

ROBERT INCE.

P. S. I find that I have expended all the Soorjoo Koond water, so that you will find only two quart bottles. The whole of these places are, I conceive, of *volcanic* origin, for small flames are to be seen in many places, issuing from the ground. I regret much now that I could not visit any of them, but hope to do so when I again go in that direction.

Through Captain Duncan, B. E., we have received from Lieut. T. C. Blaggrave of that corps, now in Scinde, two boxes containing fossils (mostly shells,) and one containing fish preserved in salt, together with a large fossil shell from Roree, by Captain W. E. Baker, Engineers.

These fossils are of very great interest, and in connection with the geological specimens promised us by Captain Baker, will no doubt throw light on the geology of that new country; but we have as yet no note of the localities in which the fossils and shells were collected.

We received from Captain Williams, our active correspondent at Kyook Phyoo, the following letters, giving an account of a remarkable appearance seen at sea from that and other of the Arracan stations.

H. PIDDINGTON, Esq., *Sub-Secretary, Asiatic Society of Bengal.*

MY DEAR SIR,—Yesterday evening, at between 5 and 6 o'clock, as we were taking our ride, we were alarmed by an extraordinary appearance far out at sea, as if a vessel was on fire: the reflection of the flame was made on a dark bank of clouds, west of the station, on the track of ships from hence to Calcutta: it flickered several times as if

the fire had been got under, and after lasting about 15 or 20 minutes (say,) suddenly went out. Various are the conjectures: I thought it was the reflection of the sun from below the horizon, but the sudden light of flame was too brilliant, and unsteady to be the sun's light; electricity in the cloud was stated to be the cause, but this is not a season for such cause: "a ship is on fire," many said; but this morning the prevailing opinion is, that a volcanic eruption has taken place 20 miles out at sea, similar to what I reported as having taken place near Chedooha. The argument against its having been a ship on fire is, that the flame shewing so brilliant and so great a light could not be so suddenly extinguished as this was, the dark bank of clouds may have been formed of the smoke of the volcano. I hope some further information than what is obtained from mere conjecture will be gained, which I will not fail to communicate to you. The Amherst is said to have left, or was to leave Calcutta yesterday, so she cannot be far enough out to see it.

D. WILLIAMS.

P. S.—A small comet was also seen at the same time as the fire, which soon set; it was situated a little south of the supposed volcanic eruption.

We shall see the comet of course this evening, and I will write by next date.

D. W.

Kyook Phyoo, 3rd January, 1845.

MY DEAR SIR,—As I was at a distance from the beach when the fire appeared last evening, Ensign Hankin of the 66th N. I. has most kindly given me a description of what he saw and heard, and I have the pleasure to enclose it, to be laid before the Society.

Kyook Phyoo, 3rd January, 1845.

D. WILLIAMS.

Major WILLIAMS, Kyook Phyoo.

MY DEAR WILLIAMS,—I have complied with your request for a description of the extraordinary phenomenon witnessed here last night, but I am afraid in a very imperfect manner.

G. HANKIN.

On the night of the 2nd of January 1845, between the hours of 6 and 7, a very interesting and singular phenomenon was observed off the coast of Kyook Phyoo. The sky on the horizon was observed to brighten up as when illumined by the rays of the setting sun, excepting that the light more resembled the flickering of a fire than the gradual descent of that luminary. It continued in this way for half an hour or so, when all of a sudden immense volumes of flame were seen to issue, as it were from the depths of the ocean, presenting the most sublime yet awful spectacle to the beholders. The general idea entertained, was, that a ship had caught fire; but this was soon dispelled by a low continuous rumbling, which seemed to sound from the howels of the earth, and was re-echoed by the surrounding hills. Previous to this, however, Capt. Howe, the marine superintendent, had with the greatest promptitude set off in H. C.

Schooner "Petrel," intending to render assistance to the supposed unfortunates of the burning ship; he returned without seeing any thing, and it is thought that the whole was the result of some hidden volcanic agency; one of the neighbouring hills possessing that extraordinary property, and from which flames have been seen to issue before. The weather at the time was still and serene, hardly a breath disturbed the air: it was in fact, as some one observed, a very earthquakey day.

Kyouk Phyoo, 3rd January, 1845.

I wrote immediately to Captain Paterson of the H. C. S. Amherst, then in the river, to enquire if he had any knowledge of this phenomenon, and his answer is as follows:—

MY DEAR MR. PIDDINGTON,—The appearance of the eruption of a volcano took place some days before we reached Arracan. I heard of it from several parties when I got there. The bearings were taken by the following gentlemen: by Capt. Howe at Kyouk Phyoo, by Capt. Siddons at Akyab, and by Capt. Watson, commanding the Govt. Schooner "Spy," off St. Martin's Isle to the North. As I did not receive a very correct account, but understood that it was *officially* sent up, I did not trouble myself further than to enquire in what direction it took place. From all I can now remember, by the bearings, it was about fifteen miles to the South of the "Western Balongo," near which is a Shoal patch of Coral; the least water I ever found was eleven fathoms. Lloyd and Ross in the Chart lay down seven fathoms. It seems to have alarmed some of the people at Kyouk Phyoo, but if you require further information, the whole of the officers of the 66th N. Infantry that saw it are encamped on the plain below the Fort.

J. PATERSON.

As it was important that time should not be lost, the following letter was addressed to Government, under the direction of our Secretary.

F. HALLIDAY, Esq., *Secy. to Govt. of Bengal.*

SIR,—By direction of the Committee of Papers of the Asiatic Society, I have the honor to submit the accompanying extracts of letters from Captain Williams, 1st Assistant to the Commissioner of Arracan, and from Ensign Hankin, giving details of a curious phænomenon seen at sea; which, by these accounts, and those collected by Captain Paterson, H. C. S. Amherst, were probably occasioned by the eruption of a sub-marine volcano.

As this may also have given rise to a new Island or a shoal, as was the case off False Island in August 1843, where a new Island appeared, but sunk shortly afterwards, the Committee respectfully suggest that orders might be given to Captain Paterson, on the approaching voyage of the Amherst, to examine the spot; as in a mere hydrographical point of view, as well as the geological interest of such phænomena, the knowledge, even of any alteration of the soundings, must be of much public interest.

H. TORRENS,

Vice President and Secretary, Asiatic Society.

In reply to which we have received the following with an official report.

(No. 450.)

From the Under Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to the Vice President and Secretary, Asiatic Society, dated Fort William, 12th February, 1845.

Marine.

SIR,—I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, without date, submitting extracts from letters, regarding the eruption of a sub-marine Volcano, seen from Kyook Phyoo, and conveying the suggestion of the Committee of Papers of the Asiatic Society, that Captain Paterson, on the approaching voyage of the “Amherst” to that station, may be instructed to examine the spot with a view of ascertaining the effects that may have been thereby produced.

2. The Acting Superintendent of Marine having also forwarded a correspondence referring to the Volcanic eruption in question, I am directed, in reply, to forward copies of these documents; from which it will be observed that, under the orders of the Commissioner of Arracan, all that is necessary has been done, but that no ascertained effect has been produced by the eruption, and that the soundings on the Arracan Coast continue as heretofore.

CECIL BEADON,

Under Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

(No. 366.)

From Lieut.-Colonel A. IRVINE, C. B., Acting Superintendent of Marine, to the Right Honorable Sir HENRY HARDINGE, G. C. B. Governor of Bengal, dated Fort William, the 24th January, 1845.

RIGHT HON'BLE SIR,—I have the honor to submit, for your honor's information, the

Copy of a Letter, No. 8, correspondence noted in the margin, referring to a grand Volcanic eruption, seen from Kyook Phyoo.
dated the 14th January, 1845, from the Commissioner of Arracan, with enclosure.

2nd. No ascertained effect has been produced by this Volcanic eruption, and the soundings on the Arracan Coast remain as before; but the occurrence seems sufficiently interesting to be reported, and if it meets with your honor's approval, I would forward copies of the correspondence to the Asiatic Society for record.

*Fort William, Mar. Supdt.'s Office,
the 24th January, 1845.*

(Signed) A. IRVINE,
Acting Supt. of Marine.

(No. 8.)

From Capt. A. BOGLE, Commissioner in Arracan, to Lieut.-Col. A. IRVINE, C. B. Superintendent of Marine, Fort William, dated Kyouk Phyoo, the 14th January, 1845.

SIR,—A very grand Volcanic eruption having been observed N. N. W. of Kyouk P'hyoo, a little after sun-set on the evening of the 2nd instant, I directed Mr. Howe, Marine Assistant, to proceed to the supposed spot for the purpose of ascertaining whether any rocks had been thrown up or any change had taken place in the soundings; I have the honor to annex copy of his report, by which it appears that he has not been able to discover any alteration whatever.

2nd. I also annex extract from a report from Mr. H. B. Weston, commanding the "Spy," who saw the eruption off the Asseerghur Shoal; it was also seen from Akyab, and I would observe that the bearing taken by Mr. Weston at sea, by Mr. Howe at Kyouk Phyoo, and by the officers at Akyab, place it in $19^{\circ} 42' 15''$ N. latitude, and $93^{\circ} 4' 45''$ E. longitude, bearing S. $\frac{3}{4}$ E. from S. end of Western Borongo.

3rd. On Mr. Weston's way down to this post, he sounded carefully for indications of the Volcano, but without effect; and since he arrived, the "Tenasserim" steamer with the "Amherst" in tow, must have passed near to it, without observing any change in the soundings.

4th. Mr. Weston will, however, be directed to make further search in the course of his cruising.

5th. I may add, that a small comet made its appearance in the S. W. on the same evening that the eruption occurred, and has been visible every night since.

Arracan, Comm.'s Office, (Signed) A. BOGLE,
Kyouk Phyoo, the 14th January, 1845. *Commissioner in Arracan.*

(True copy,)

(Signed) JAMES SUTHERLAND, *Secretary.*
Fort William, Mar. Supdt.'s Office, the 24th January, 1845.

(No. 4.)

From H. HOWE, Marine Assistant Commissioner, to Major A. BOGLE, Commissioner of Arracan, dated Kyouk Phyoo, the 8th January, 1845.

SIR,—I have the honor to inform you, that according to your directions, I proceeded on the 6th instant in search of any effects that might be visible of the Volcanic eruption on the 2nd instant.

Having observed the eruption, and the spot where the flames appeared to rise up out of the water, I set it by compass at W. N. W. from the Flag Staff, and reckoning

the distance from the place of observation to be about 16 to 18 miles, that would place any rock or shoal that might have been thrown up, or any discoloured water, about 5 to 8 miles to the north of the northern breakers off the Terribles.

I accordingly proceeded to this spot and cruised about, carefully sounding and keeping a good look-out from the mast-head in a circle, from Lat. $19^{\circ} 27'$ to $19^{\circ} 36'$, Long. $93^{\circ} 16'$ to $93^{\circ} 25' E.$

Not the smallest appearance of an eruption having taken place was observed in this direction, nor the slightest trace of its effects; the soundings were all regular as laid down on the charts; and having before had the coast, from the extreme point of my observations up to northward, carefully surveyed, though out of the line of bearing, I have returned in with the conclusion that no rock or shoal has been cast up by the late action of the Volcano, nor have the soundings been at all affected, nor the channel disturbed.

From this up to the northward and westward, the ground has been repeatedly passed over by salt brigs and vessels belonging to the Flotilla, by none of which has any thing extraordinary been observed.

M. A. C.'s Office, Kyook Phyo,
the 8th January, 1845.

(Signed) H. HOWE,
Mar. Asst. Commissioner.

Extract from a letter from Mr. H. B. Weston, Commanding the Hon'ble Company's schooner "Spy," dated 11th January 1845, No. 4.

"At 6 P. M. on the 2nd instant, I observed a large fire S. E. by S. (being then off the Asseerghur Shoal), from which was thrown up five different times large masses of fire. I supposed it to be a volcanic eruption, and in coming down the coast sounded to see if any alteration had taken place, but found none; I went into Akyab, and having got a bearing from there, proceeded in the direction, sounding, but have no alteration more than a fathom, and that in steep places.

"I also kept a look-out for burnt wood in case it might have been a vessel burnt, but found none: I have enquired of the vessels boarded, and they give a similar description of it; a Chinese Junk excepted, who stated it to be a ship on fire, but had seen no traces of her, though he went in the direction."

(True copy and extract,)

Fort William, Mar. Supdt.'s Office,
the 21th January, 1845.

(Signed) A. BOGLE,
Commissioner of Arracan.

(True copy,)

(Signed) JAS. SUTHERLAND, *Secy.*

(True copies,)

CECIL BEADON,
Under Secy. to the Govt. of Bengal.

It would appear from the foregoing, that there can be no doubt of the phænomenon, and extremely little probability of its having been a vessel on fire. As connected with the former eruptions in that quarter, all these notices are of the greatest interest, and we are fortunate in possessing there in the persons of Captain Williams and his friends, such zealous observers and reporters.

We have also received from Captain Newbold, M. N. I., a valuable paper on the Geology of Southern India, which, as soon as the diagrams can be lithographed, will I

hope adorn our Journal; Captain Newbold promises a continuation of his paper, and from his zeal, opportunities and talents, we may expect all which they can accomplish under the disadvantage, common to all scientific votaries in India, of being sadly circumscribed as to time. From Mr. Ince of the Salt Department, we have received through Mr. Torrens, bottles of water, and a box of rocks and pebbles from the salt springs in the Chittagong district, with a letter giving an account of his visit to them. I have not yet examined them, as they arrived very late.

Lieut. Baird Smith has just forwarded Part III. of his valuable papers on Indian Earthquakes, which will also be no doubt forthwith published.

Lieut. Sherwill has referred to us a small box of specimens of limestones from the
Museum of table-land of Rhotasghur, requesting me to select those
Economic Geology. most likely to prove useful as lithographic stones. From
minute fragments it is next to impossible to judge; but I have returned them to him,
with the most likely specimens separated from those decidedly bad; and, as he pro-
mises us slabs, we shall then be enabled to give them a fair trial.

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